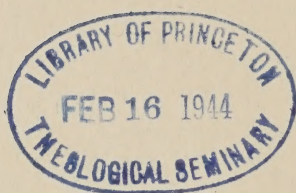


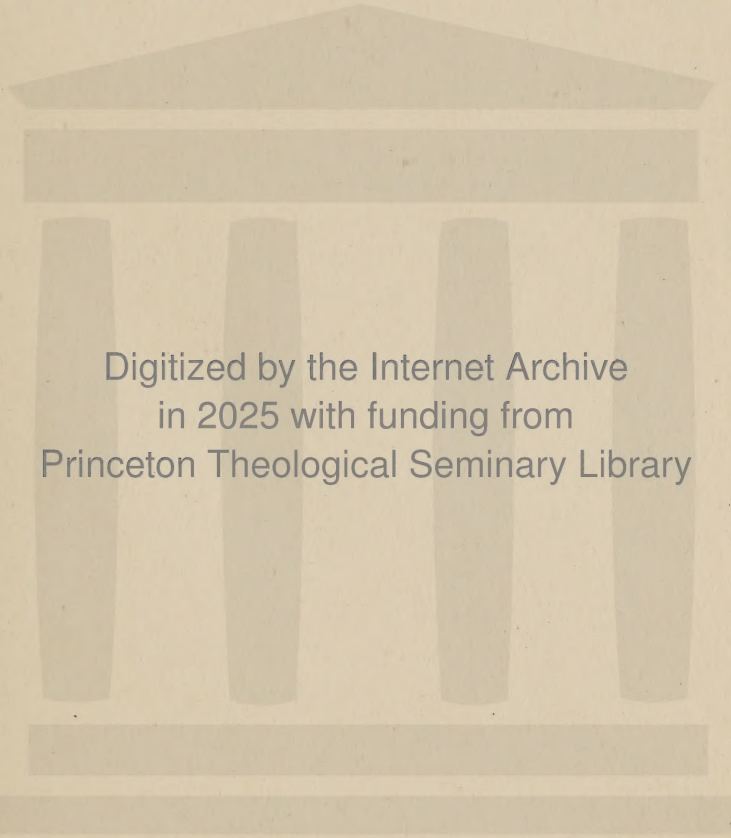
THE MAKING OF
MODERN NEW GUINEA

STEPHEN WINSOR REED





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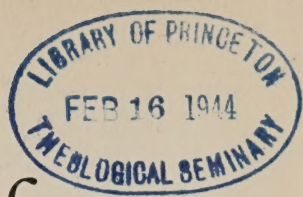
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The Making of Modern New Guinea

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO
CULTURE CONTACT IN THE
MANDATED TERRITORY

BY

Stephen Winsor Reed

*Instructor in Sociology and Fellow of
Calhoun College, Yale University*

*Issued in co-operation with the
International Secretariat, Institute of
Pacific Relations*

THE AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY

INDEPENDENCE SQUARE

PHILADELPHIA

1943

This book is published with the co-operation of the International Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations, New York and constitutes a report in the International Research Series of the Institute

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Second Printing

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES

TO MY PARENTS

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PREFACE

Scarcely more than a decade has passed since the Institute of Pacific Relations first lent assistance to the publication of a report dealing exclusively with the peoples and problems of the Mandated Territory of New Guinea.¹ That small yet comprehensive volume, representing the "attempt of private citizens to equip themselves to discharge their responsibility for a national undertaking," was notably successful in presenting factual information concerning the manifold problems facing administrators in the Territory. Today with Japanese forces occupying key ports and islands of the Mandated Territory and using these bases to deliver attacks on Australia itself, New Guinea has suddenly assumed vital importance as one of the Pacific battle-fronts.

The intervening years have witnessed far-reaching changes both in the Territory itself and in its relations with the world at large. Expansion and orderly development have been impeded by the crippling effects of worldwide economic depression and the threat of international war. Yet despite economic setbacks, despite a constant stream of new administrative problems, and despite recurring uncertainties as to the future, both natives and Europeans have combined in cooperative endeavors which have resulted in a growing body of experience and positive social gains.

The time seems propitious, therefore, for an interim report on the more recent results of European aims and native achievements as seen in the light of the whole history of contact and acculturation. It is the purpose of this book to make a detailed examination of these results, showing what they are, how they have been brought about, and what they seem to promise for the future of the Territory. Sané policy must be based upon

¹ *The Australian Mandate for New Guinea: Record of Round Table Discussion*, edited by the Hon. F. W. Eggleston (Pacific Relations Series No. 2). Melbourne, 1928.

sound knowledge; and if theoretical conclusions suggested by the facts presented here can make some contribution, however small, toward the understanding of the issues involved in the workings of the composite New Guinea society, our aim will be achieved.

The original impetus to undertake this study arose from the author's desire to witness and record as a sociologist the basic problems of some group or groups yet surviving among "our primitive contemporaries." The Territory of New Guinea was chosen as an ethnographic area containing the widest range of possibilities, largely on the basis of the generous advice furnished by Professor Richard Thurnwald, Dr. Margaret Mead, and Dr. Hortense Powdermaker, all of whom had previously carried on research in this part of the South Seas. My colleague, Dr. John W. M. Whiting, and I arrived in the Territory in August, 1936, and remained until the latter part of May, 1937. From September to February we carried on joint anthropological investigations among the mountain-dwelling Kwoma people of the Upper Sepik River;² in February, in order to gather information relating to the broader problems of European-native contact beyond the geographical limits of this single community, I left Dr. Whiting with the Kwoma and traveled widely throughout the Territory. By visiting plantations and missions, police posts and mining concessions, and by observing the daily round among labor recruiters, government officials, and indentured natives themselves, I sought to gain a synoptic picture of the whole variegated life of the Territory. This investigation, I felt, would enable me to comprehend more clearly the dynamic process by which people like the Kwoma are adapting themselves to new life conditions; it would also be possible, I thought, to assess their proper role in the new, composite society of this latter-day frontier. Since I could not rely solely upon casual observation, I made use of informants wherever possible. Persons in all walks of territorial life—government officers, planters, traders and recruiters, missionaries, and last, not least, pidgin-speaking natives themselves—gave freely of their time to pass on to me information based on their own experience. To all of them, though not mentioned here by name, I am deeply grateful for their kind assistance and unending hospitality.

To supplement the material gathered in the field, I later had recourse to the extensive literature on New Guinea; official reports of both German

² For a preliminary account of our findings among this group, see J. W. M. Whiting and S. W. Reed, "Kwoma Culture: report on field work in the Mandated Territory of New Guinea," *Oceania*, Vol. 9 (1938-39) pp. 170-216. A more detailed report on specific phases of this culture is contained in Dr. Whiting's forthcoming study, *Becoming a Kwoma: Teaching and Learning in a New Guinea Tribe*, to be published by the Yale Institute of Human Relations.

and Australian administrations, monographs on pertinent sociological topics, ethnographies, histories, journals, and newspapers have all contributed valuable information which has, I trust, enabled me to round out the picture here presented, giving it temporal as well as spatial perspective. The published material acquired an added meaning after my own experience in the land and with the people. Villages which appeared contiguous on maps I knew from experience to be widely separated by cultural differences and long-standing feuds; photographs of rolling grassland valleys called painfully to mind the heat, the insect pests, and the razor-sharp blades of *kunai* which torment one who traverses such country; and an official report of the number of inoculations given by the medical patrols conjured up not simply the picture of thousands of ampules in a medical assistant's kit, but the vast apparatus of science and law, attitudes and norms of conduct—in brief, the whole cycle of activities whereby copra and gold dust are transmuted into healthy native tissues and bodies. The results of my library and field research were originally incorporated in a doctoral dissertation presented in 1939 to the faculty of the Graduate School of Yale University.

The present manuscript was submitted for publication early in 1941 as a report in the International Research Series of the Institute of Pacific Relations. The outbreak of war in the Pacific has unavoidably delayed its publication, but it has not been practicable to include any new information on the effects of the Japanese invasion of New Guinea.

If space permitted, I would like to express my sincere gratitude and appreciation to all who have helped me, from the inception of my plans through to their realization in this book; though not mentioned here by name, they may rest assured that I am deeply grateful. In dedicating this volume to my parents, I do no more than simply record the fact that without their loyal support and unflagging interest it could never have been written. Here also I must acknowledge a great debt to my initial teacher in the science of society, Professor Albert G. Keller. He it was who first opened for me, as he has for so many others, the doors to an engrossing field of scholarly research; whatever I have absorbed of the meaning of scientific integrity has ultimately been inspired by him. Professor Raymond Kennedy painstakingly edited this study in its original form and gave valuable assistance in its revision, for which I am deeply thankful. Professor Bronislaw Malinowski, my teacher, colleague, and friend for the past two years, has done more than any other to sharpen my understanding of the problems with which I have been dealing. My debt to him will not be repaid until I return to the field armed with the keen tools of his theoretical principles and methodological procedure.

In conclusion, my special thanks go to the International Secretariat of the Institute of Pacific Relations and to the Research Secretary of the Institute, Mr. W. L. Holland, for arranging the publication of this book under the joint auspices of the Institute and the American Philosophical Society and for supervising the proof-reading and printing. It should be understood, however, that I am solely responsible for all statements of fact or opinion in the book.

S. W. R.

*Calhoun College,
Yale University,
January, 1942.*

INTRODUCTION:

THE WORLD CRISIS AND THE *KANAKA* REVOLUTION

While preparing for the field trip to gather material for this book, the author addressed an inquiry concerning New Guinea to a shipping firm in New York whose vessels are known in most of the world's ports. The answer, probably dictated by some harried clerk, is a fair sample of the average Westerner's lack of information about even the geographical location of the largest habitable island of the globe. It said: "We are sorry to report that at present we have no ships scheduled to call in this part of South America." The South Seas in general, and especially the island of New Guinea, have long been a story-book realm to the public at large, a savage, tropical waste. Few think of it as an increasingly important area for the political and economic strategy of the great nations and the scene, as Hogbin puts it, of countless "experiments in civilization."

The cloak of obscurity which has shrouded the land is now slowly lifting. The remarkably successful utilization of modern machinery, especially the aeroplane, in the economic development of the remote interior of the Territory has caught the public fancy during the past decade. The discovery, by both private and government exploration, of great untouched native populations in the central regions has fired the human interest of both scientists and laymen. And, more recently, Japan's attempt by force of arms to test the possibility of Oceanic expansion toward a Greater Asia has caused statesmen, strategists, and shippers, as well as the democratic peoples at large, to focus their attention more and more on the problems of the Pacific. No one can believe that Hirohito's little men were in any danger of confusing the South American Guianas with New Guinea; and, by the same token, it behooves all

who have interests, direct or indirect, in this far corner of the Western Ocean to arm themselves with factual knowledge as a basis for a positive policy whether in war or peace.

The immediate problems facing the democratic powers generally, and Australia in particular, with respect to the Mandated Territory are strategic in nature, involving not only the security and welfare of both white and native inhabitants, but ultimately the freedom of the Commonwealth itself. From the viewpoint of defense alone, Australia's position *vis à vis* New Guinea is not unlike that of the United States in relation to the South American continent. Seizure of New Guinea by a hostile power, no less possible than the invasion of Brazil, has constituted the gravest threat to the British dominions in the South Pacific.

Another unsettled problem in the external affairs of the Mandated Territory involves its confused status in international law as a dependency of Australia. Under the terms of the document which empowers the Commonwealth to govern former German New Guinea, no provisions for armed defense may be made in the Mandate. This stipulation, strictly observed since the creation of civil government in 1921, can scarcely be regarded as binding today. With the League of Nations which sponsored it reduced to a blasted hope, it is doubtful whether enlightened self-interest will longer permit the Commonwealth to support an idealistic principle which has failed, and which indeed now jeopardizes its very existence. The following statement of an Australian military analyst,¹ which sounded cynical when made in the nineteen-twenties, now seems prophetic. "It may reasonably be assumed that in practice, action in time of war will be based upon preservation of national interests rather than upon nice considerations of ethics, and that holders of Mandates will not only be bound to take such reasonable steps as are necessary to secure the Territories under their authority, but will...make use of the Territories in any manner which they consider necessary to gain their objects."

The proposed unification of Papua and the New Guinea Mandate into a single territory under Australian ownership and jurisdiction is another matter closely allied with the question of defense, besides involving questions of administrative efficiency. This subject has received official consideration on several occasions since the creation of the Mandate, most recently in 1939. In view of the fundamental similarity of problems—

¹ *The Australian Mandate for New Guinea*, pp. 98-9.

administrative, social, and economic—in the two territories, sound logic would seemingly favor the proposal. Nevertheless, the opposition of local commercial interests, minor legal distinctions in the handling of native affairs, and other provincial considerations have thus far proved effective barriers to actual coalition.² It seems more than likely, however, that the stresses and strains of the current international situation will force the two Australian dependencies in New Guinea into much closer cooperation than heretofore, if not into ultimate union. In any event, the status of the Mandate will undoubtedly be revised and clarified following the next peace.

The present world crisis has raised internal as well as external problems for New Guinea. War cannot help but strain the economic stability and social integration of the Mandate itself. A fall in prices, curtailment of transportation facilities, reduction of administrative personnel, to mention only a few of the possibilities, will seriously affect the efficient functioning of the Territory. In a world where crushing forces of subtle propaganda and cold steel are the ultimate sanction, such problems, both theoretical and practical, must be entrusted to experts. The responsibility for their definition and solution lies with the military strategist, the international lawyer, and the enlightened statesman. Backed by informed and united public opinion, such leaders can chart the course whereby the ruthless policy of *Machtpolitik* may be replaced by those principles of order and security, enlightenment and liberty, which only a free society can offer. In looking to the future, we must make our predictions and chart our plans in the light of past experience and present trends. The professed ideals and practical accomplishments of both the former German and the present Australian regimes are known quantities. Their errors and achievements have provided a body of hard-earned experience on the basis of which coming administrators can plan more wisely than their pioneering predecessors.

The external considerations cited above are sufficient cause by themselves for a more careful examination than ever before of all the known geographic and human factors obtaining in the Territory today which have an immediate bearing upon the security and welfare of Europeans in the Pacific. But apart from the present international disorders which endow New Guinea with greater strategic importance than ever before, our main task here is to examine those continuing internal problems

² See F. M. Keesing, *The South Seas in the Modern World*, p. 20.

within the Territory which are not directly attributable to any specific world crisis, but arise from the whole history of European penetration, colonization, and industrialization of this rich but remote region. A peaceful revolution in native society has been quietly progressing during the past seventy years. It follows a determinism of its own, and only indirectly reflects the course of events in the world outside. This slow transformation, caused by the dynamic impact of European culture on indigenous society, is fraught with far-reaching significance for the natives. It also directly concerns those Europeans who are its local agents and leaders, and, ultimately, must involve the democratic public which they represent.

To both practical administrator and theoretically inclined sociologist, New Guinea offers rich opportunity for observation and analysis of culture change caused by contact of natives and Europeans.³ Obviously, the material here assembled represents simply one localized phase of such revolutionary change as has characterized the whole history of the human race; consequently, theoretical implications issuing from the broadest comparative study must here be subordinated to the presentation of basic descriptive data of contact and change in the Territory.

The immediate specific effects of this meeting of diverse cultures and the widespread revolution in native life which it is precipitating are apparent on every hand. The visitor to the island today sees "second generation cannibals" driving motor trucks for white employers, reformed head-hunters parading in the khaki uniform of the native constabulary, and, wherever white enterprise has been established, natives reared in the easy hand-tillage economy of aboriginal New Guinea working from dawn to sunset (except on Saturday afternoon, Sunday, and national holidays) in European employ. He hears a strange new language, sounding at times like English, but of a curiously garbled kind. White overseers direct their native employees in it, natives from strange tribes use it in conversation, and it supplies the words for hymns sung in mission churches. All of these sights and sounds are living, dramatic evidence of the epochal changes being wrought in native life by European contact and control.

³ The special monographs and reports by Pitt-Rivers, Groves, Chinnery, the Thurnwalds, and Mead, dealing with problems of contact among specific tribal groups in New Guinea are valuable contributions in the field of applied anthropology. The work of F. E. Williams, Government Anthropologist in the Territory of Papua, is also germane to questions in the Mandate. No one, however, has thus far attempted to view the entire problem as manifested in the Territory of New Guinea.

Here is a New Guinea scarcely mentioned in the ethnographies, yet one teeming with life and replete with forces which are molding a new social environment for both native black and alien white.

Seventy years ago, when European traders and settlers first set foot in the Territory, the widest conceivable gap—racial, linguistic, and cultural—separated the immigrants from the indigenous inhabitants. The racial, and to a lesser extent the linguistic, barriers still remain, but interaction and cooperation between the two groups are producing a third culture which is a unique creation. Instead of the original dual division, New Guinea society now contains three distinct cultural strains: aboriginal, European, and a new composite variety which we may call *kanaka*.⁴ This new cultural product, which has arisen from the juxtaposition and mutual adjustments of two such widely divergent groups, is the result of an endless series of trials and errors; a large part of this volume represents an attempt to subject it to a systematic sociological analysis.

The present participants in this composite, still largely amorphous, culture include a few thousand race-conscious, politically dominant Europeans and half a million indigenous natives who vary widely in degree of sophistication. The latter group, although economically indispensable, forms a definitely inferior caste. The native is the one who must bear the greater burden of adjustment, for superior force and organizing ability inevitably lodge in the hands of the European government official, trader, planter, and missionary. The political autonomy, economic habits, religious practices, and sexual customs of organized native groups, in so far as they threaten European control or offend Western notions of morality, must be abandoned. So far-reaching are the cultural effects of these dictated proscriptions that they may be labeled revolutionary without stretching the term in the slightest. The development of this new *kanaka* society, therefore, must be traced through its adjustments to the driving force of European expansion. Just as two are needed to make a fight, so must there be two opposed groups to precipitate a revolution.

⁴Originally the Polynesian term for "man," *Kanaka*, or the French *canaque*, is now widely used to designate any native inhabitant of the South Seas. As employed here, it does not have the rather derogatory sense sometimes attached to it in commercial circles but refers particularly to New Guinea natives who are in process of adapting themselves to the new forces of contact and change.

The *kanaka* revolution, stemming from the fundamental antithesis between Stone Age and Western civilization, reacts inevitably to the dominant and lasting cultural imperatives in both of the opposing traditions. But the guiding principles of change, whether expressed in sympathetic assistance or in purposeful direction, are formulated and administered by Europeans; and the manner in which they discharge the "sacred trust" of promoting the material and moral welfare of the subject people stands as the main measure of the success or failure of their colonial effort. In a larger sense, the Mandate serves as a proving ground for the practice of democratic ideals; and the treatment meted out to the native inhabitants may be taken as indicative of the vitality of the democratic process.

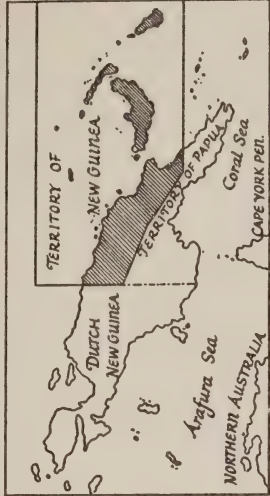
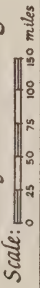
It is the considered opinion of the author that, against the tawdry backdrop of the sordid and inhumane history of European expansion into the South Seas, the Australian civil administration of the Mandated Territory stands out as a powerful force for the greatest good of the whole population, native and white included. Despite severe budgetary limitations, paucity of field staff, and other handicaps beyond its control, the administration has not balked at its magnitudinous tasks. Fully cognizant of the fact that each innovation made and every new service rendered adds to the burden of government, it has nevertheless refused to allow a policy of drift to stultify the gains so far registered. This progressive and adaptive spirit is, we submit, the strongest guarantee of the ultimate success of the *kanaka* revolution.

After these words of praise, candor compels the admission that within the composite society of modern New Guinea certain forces are operative which, although not openly inimical to the dedicated purpose of the sacred trust, do nothing to advance its fulfillment. Complacent acceptance of the emergent caste system, for instance, with its social and economic derivative, the color bar, would seem to be an anachronism, to say the least, among people sworn to the destruction of a *Herrenvolk* philosophy. In the field of education which, for all its fads and faults, is still the cornerstone of democratic structures, we are given to wonder why no plan has been prepared for a system of native schooling designed to assist the *kanaka* in adjusting to his new, partly Europeanized, partly de-tribalized situation. Aside from the financial and pedagogical problems involved, we should like to know what groups or interests stand in opposition to such a scheme. Finally, with respect

to the whole question of government in a free society, it is our opinion, as that of a foreign observer, that the European inhabitants of the Territory might profitably search their minds and hearts for an answer to the question whether they are doing all in their power to speed the day when the native peoples will be equipped "to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world." These broader questions of principle rise as a challenge to the present; on their solution depends the promise of the future.

The Making of
Modern New Guinea

**TERRITORY OF
NEW GUINEA**
Administered by The Commonwealth of
Australia under Mandate from The League
of Nations.

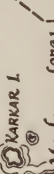


Manus



New Ireland
New Britain

Madang



Morobe

Finschhafen

Wau

Salamaua

Gulf of Papua

TERRITORY OF PAPUA

NETHERLANDS NEW GUINEA

SW & RWG

CHAPTER I

THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

A. THE PHYSIOGRAPHY OF THE MANDATED TERRITORY

The spatial setting of the present study is both discontinuous and vast, including a quarter-section of the great island of New Guinea¹ and numerous adjacent islands. Together these form the Mandated Territory of New Guinea, the former German "Alte Schutzgebiet." Specifically, the Territory comprises the north-eastern quarter of New Guinea proper, the hundreds of islands and atolls of the Bismarck Archipelago, and the two most northerly of the Solomon Islands. It extends over 400 miles from north to south; over 1,100 miles from east to west.

Although private explorers, boundary commissions, hydrographical

¹ "New Guinea" is the general name for the large bird-shaped island lying east to west along the northern side of the continent of Australia, from which it is separated by the narrow and tortuous Torres Strait. Also known in the past as "Papua," it is, after Greenland, the largest non-continental land mass. At present its western half is part of the Netherlands East Indies; the eastern section is divided latitudinally between the Australian-owned "Territory of Papua," on the south, and the "Territory of New Guinea," administered by Australia under mandate from the League of Nations, on the north. The political divisions may thus be thought of as representing three zones of influence.

The unfortunate redundancy of nomenclature used by explorers, colonial settlers, and the like has given rise to no little confusion. In this book the Netherlands territory will be referred to either by its official title "Nieuw Guinee" (see J. Tideman, *Nieuw Guinee* (W. Klein, ed.), Vol. 1, p. 3, note), or by the colloquial "Dutch New Guinea." The Australian possession will be known as "Papua," or "Territory of Papua." That portion of the island now under Australian mandate is known officially as "Northeast New Guinea" and corresponds exactly with the area called by the Germans during their occupation "Kaiser Wilhelmsland." A less cumbersome term, "the Mainland," used in everyday speech by the present inhabitants of the Mandate, will be employed as a synonym for "Northeast New Guinea" and "Kaiser Wilhelmsland."

The name "New Guinea," unless specifically qualified to mean the entire island, will be used henceforth with reference to the Mandated Territory alone, that is, the Mainland and the islands of the Bismarck Archipelago.

surveys, and government patrols—both German and British—have added greatly to our knowledge of the region, its total area and population are still known only as estimates. The large unmapped areas in the central regions of the mainland have acted as effective barriers to European penetration and settlement. The total area of land and sea which would be enclosed by lines drawn through the extreme outer points of the Territorial boundaries would exceed one million square miles. The following table gives the latest figures on the land area of the Territory as a whole.²

<i>Division</i>	<i>Area in Square Miles</i>
Northeast New Guinea	69,700
Bismarck Archipelago	
New Britain (Neu Pommern)	14,600
New Ireland (Neu Mecklenburg)	3,340
Lavongai (Neu Hannover)	460
Admiralty Islands	800
	<hr/>
	19,200
Solomon Islands	
Bougainville	3,880
Buka	220
	<hr/>
	4,100
	<hr/>
	93,000*

* The land area of the Territory is thus slightly larger than that of Great Britain; for England, Scotland, and Wales together cover only 88,745 square miles. Northeast New Guinea accounts for approximately seventy-five per cent, yet more than 600 islands are named on the maps. They range in size from New Britain to tiny atolls scarcely a square mile in area.

A German observer at the turn of the century, in a surfeit of patriotic zeal, once called Kaiser Wilhelmsland, as Northeast New Guinea then was known, "the pearl of all our tropic colonies." If we regard smoothness of texture as the outstanding quality of this gem, the metaphor appears singularly inappropriate; for, excepting limited coastal areas and a few large river plains, Northeast New Guinea and its off-lying

² From *Official Handbook of the Territory of New Guinea Administered by the Commonwealth of Australia under Mandate from the Council of the League of Nations* (1937), p. 79. (Hereafter referred to as *Official Handbook of the Territory of New Guinea*). The figures have undergone minor correction since the inauguration of the Australian civil government in 1921. See *Report to the Council of the League of Nations* (1923), paragraph 4.

islands are extremely rugged and mountainous. A main orographical feature runs down the center of the main island, constituting, as it were, a massive backbone of the land. In Northeast New Guinea the most important separate systems in this chain include the Victor Emanuel, Schatteburg, Müller, Hagen, and Kratke Ranges, and the Bismarck Mountains. These central highlands, rising to a maximum of 14,000 feet, are paralleled by subordinate coastal mountains—Bougainville, Bewani, Toricelli, Prince Alexander, Adelbert, Finisterre, and Rawlinson—which extend from the Dutch to the Papuan border.³ The main cordillera bifurcates in the eastern part of the mainland, one arm running north-east through the Finisterre Mountains into New Britain and New Ireland, the other continuing southeast into Papua.

The coastline of Northeast New Guinea, although comparatively smooth and lacking in good harbors, is approximately 780 miles long. On the west it is low and sandy, but east of Madang the mountains rise sharply from the beach. In addition to the narrow coastal plain which stretches from the Dutch border to the mouth of the Sepik River, there are isolated patches of level country on the Madang coast, on Astrolabe Bay, and on Huon Gulf. Further inland one encounters the large fluvial plains of the Sepik, Ramu, and Markham rivers. These vast level fenlands are quite as impressive in their way as the towering mountain ranges of the interior.

The unexplored interior of the mainland long remained a cartographic mystery, and vague native reports substantiated the widely held notion that the central ranges were both uninhabited and impassable. During the past decade, however, a series of brilliant governments patrol and private explorations have penetrated this great region and have added greatly to our knowledge of the physical features—in lesser degree of the people—of the interior. Instead of an endless chain of forest-clad mountains and desolate snowy peaks, which had been expected, these highland regions abound in fine grassy valleys that support relatively large native populations.⁴

³ E. R. Stanley, "Report on the Salient Geological Features and Natural Resources of the New Guinea Territory," Appendix B of *Report to the Council of the League of Nations* (1923), p. 13.

⁴ When the full story comes to be written, it will make a fascinating chapter in twentieth-century exploration. Some of the better preliminary reports are: E. W. P. Chinnery, "The Central Ranges of the Mandated Territory of New Guinea from Mount Chapman to Mount Hagen," *Geographical Journal*, Vol. 84 (1934), pp. 398-412; K. L. Spinks, "Mapping the Purari Plateau of New Guinea," *Geographical Journal*, Vol. 84 (1934), pp. 412-16; K. L.

The principal river systems have been known for a much longer time than have the rich valleys and rolling grasslands just mentioned. This is only to be expected, since they have long served as natural routes for inland penetration. Three main systems have been adequately surveyed: the Sepik (or Kaiserin Augusta), the Ramu (or Ottilien), and the Markham (or Wussi) rivers. The Sepik is by far the largest, being comparable in length to the Rhine in Europe, and the Fly and Mamberamo, the other two great rivers of the island of New Guinea. Its flow of water is enormous, for the channel is deep and the current fast. Nearly half the land area of Northeast New Guinea is drained by this stream and its tributaries; near its mouth the ocean is discolored for miles by its brown silted waters. On the lower 350 miles of its 750-mile course it winds through a flooded plain; high mountain ranges are visible in the far distance on either hand, but the river banks rise only a few feet above the water level. All of the important tributaries (i.e., Keram, Yuat, Karawari, April) flow into it from the south, and several are sizeable rivers in their own right.

The second largest river in the Territory, the Ramu, rises on the northern slopes of a divide situated at $6^{\circ} 10'$ south latitude and $146^{\circ} 10'$ east longitude, and flows in a northwesterly direction, emptying into Broken Water Bay only fifteen miles east of the mouth of the Sepik. The country watered by the Ramu closely resembles the Sepik basin; the ground is low and swampy, and the lower reaches are subject to periodic inundation. Although vessels of four feet or less in draught have ascended the river to a point 200 miles from the ocean,⁵ it cannot be compared with the Sepik as a navigable waterway, for the latter's controlling depth for 250 miles averages fifty feet, sufficient for ocean-going vessels of several hundred tons.

The third river, the Markham, rises on the southern slopes of the same divide as the Ramu and flows southeast to empty into Huon Gulf. There is deep water at its mouth, but throughout most of its length it is swift and shallow. The lower course runs through country which is similar

Spinks, "The Wahgi River Valley of Central New Guinea," *Geographical Journal*, Vol. 87 (1936), pp. 222-8; M. Leahy, "The Central Highlands of New Guinea," *Geographical Journal*, Vol. 87 (1936), pp. 229-60.

For official reports, see *Report to the Council of the League of Nations* (1935), p. 117.

⁵ E. R. Stanley led a surveying party up the Ramu in the *Wattle*, a small ketch, in 1920. Recruiters and missionaries have frequently ascended the river in small pinnaces and canoes since that time.

to the downstream basin of the Sepik and Ramu, although less swampy. The Markham carries the waters of the Watut, Tangimar, and Bulolo river systems, gold-bearing streams in the southeastern corner of the mainland.

Between the Kratke Range, which is the divide drained by both the Markham and Ramu rivers, and the Hagen Range, near the Papuan border in the interior, there are several elaborate drainage systems including the Garfuku, Marifutiga, Jimi, Gai, and Wahgi rivers. Dozens of smaller tributaries flow into these, and they in turn follow many routes to the sea. The Gai and Jimi, for instance, become the Yuat and carry waters from the center of New Guinea to the ocean by way of the Sepik; others flow south into the Tauri, Vailala, and Purari rivers of Papua, all emptying into the Gulf of Papua; still others find egress by way of the Ramu and Markham. The Purari Plateau of the Mount Hagen district is truly, as the natives say, the "top of the country."

The islands off the mainland differ widely in size and surface contour. Two characteristics, however, are common to all but a few of the smallest: mountainous terrain and dense vegetation. New Britain, the largest island and seat of the capital, is a crescent-shaped land mass more than 300 miles long and nearly ninety miles wide at its broadest point. It is extremely mountainous, especially in the Gazelle Peninsula, a projection of fifty square miles on the northeastern end of the island.

New Britain is separated from the mainland by the exceedingly deep Dampier Strait; on the east, St. George's Channel (containing the Duke of York Group) divides it from the second largest island of the Bismarck Archipelago, New Ireland, which is approximately 220 miles long and sixteen wide, although its southern end bulges to a width of thirty-five miles. This island consists almost entirely of a serrated mountain range rising to 6,000 feet, girdled by a narrow coastal lowland. Level plains, watered by tumbling mountain streams, are found only on the northwest coast.

Immediately north of New Ireland lies Lavongai, thirty-two miles long by twenty miles wide, an exceedingly rugged island with heights up to 2,800 feet. About forty miles north of Lavongai lie the smaller islands known as the St. Matthias Group—Mussau, Emirau, and Tench—and a number of tiny islets off the southern coast of Mussau. All of these are fairly low and densely wooded.

The Admiralty Islands, to the westward of St. Matthias, take their

name from the largest member of the group, Great Admiralty, which is approximately fifty miles long and up to twenty miles across. Its central mountains rise to 3,000 feet. A few of the satellite islands are mountainous, but most are coral upbuildings with little elevation.

The extreme northwest of the Bismarck Archipelago includes a series of small, widely scattered coral atolls known collectively as the Western Islands. These represent the typical coralline formations of the south Pacific, exceptional in the island area of the Territory.

The islands of the Solomon Group included in the Territory are Buka, the most northerly of the group, and its large neighbor to the south, Bougainville. The two are separated by a narrow channel known as Buka Passage. Bougainville, largest of the Solomons, contains enormous mountain ranges; one peak, a still-active volcano, rises more than 10,000 feet above sea level.

Along the mainland coast and off the shores of the larger islands mentioned above lie numerous smaller bits of land, some isolated, others clustered in groups. The Schouten Islands, for instance, north of the Sepik's mouth, and certain ones off the north coast of New Britain, appear to be the peaks of submerged mountain ranges. Several of them, such as Bam, Manam, and Karkar, are more or less active volcanoes, while many appear to have become quiescent only within historic times.⁶ Other islands are coral upbuildings on top of submarine volcanoes.

Since all of the land with which we are concerned lies well within the tropics, climatic conditions are fairly uniform, save in so far as the elevations of the interior cause exceptional variety in temperature.⁷ Ocean breezes cool some of the coast and directly affect the amount of precipitation; but in general the climate of both the islands and the mainland is moist and tropical throughout the year. The small differences between

⁶ As time is reckoned by geologists, New Guinea is still very young, which accounts for the fact that it still experiences occasional subterranean growing pains. Although earth tremors are frequent throughout the whole Territory, extreme volcanic activity is limited to a few definite regions, notably the Gazelle Peninsula. The most recent outbreak, that of May 28-29, 1937, at Rabaul, received wide notice in the world press. Tectonic changes are constantly occurring throughout the entire Territory, however.

⁷ Meteorological and climatic information has been compiled by the Australian Administrations; the official German records are not available in nearly so complete a form although private individuals have contributed to our knowledge. The Neu-Guinea Kompagnie is said to have issued valuable scientific instruments to their factors and overseers for collecting such data. These neglected this task, however, saying "Wenn es Bier regnet, wollen wir die Mengen messen, aber Wasser . . . !" (R. Neuhaus, *Deutsch Neu-Guinea*, Vol. I, p. 470). This is not an unusual attitude in out-stations today. Consequently there are still many gaps in our knowledge of climatic conditions throughout the Territory.

the daily and seasonal extremes of temperature are scarcely noticeable in Fahrenheit recordings, even though natives as well as acclimated Europeans may be made uncomfortable by slight rises and falls. The amount of moisture in the air at all times causes considerable distress to Europeans, for the average humidity exceeds seventy-five percent—about that of Washington, D. C., during July and August.

Settlement of the plateaus and valleys of the mainland, 5,000 feet or more above sea level, has been too recent for complete recording of meteorological information. Prospectors, missionaries, and government officers who have worked in these regions all agree, however, that humidity and temperature are markedly lower here than on the sultry coasts. My own visits to the interior confirmed this. At Kaindi, for instance, a mining community at an altitude of 7,000 feet, European houses are equipped with heating stoves and fireplaces, and blankets are a necessity every night of the year. Free of malaria-carrying mosquitos, this vast new region would seem to be well-adapted, biologically at least, to further white settlement. It might be compared favorably with the "white highlands" of Kenya and Tanganyika in East Africa.

Two seasons, commonly referred to as "wet" and "dry," are distinguishable in the coastal areas and, to a lesser extent, in the interior of the mainland. They are determined by the prevailing monsoons: the northwest bringing rain, the southeast fairer weather. In general, the period of the northwest monsoon coincides with our winter season in the Northern Hemisphere while the southeast prevails during our summer. The "wet" and "dry" seasons are only relatively so, however, for some rain falls everywhere the year round. Furthermore, in southern New Ireland and along the south coast of New Britain, where precipitation is very heavy, the seasons are reversed, and more rain falls during the southeast monsoon. Weeks have passed without rainfall in the so-called "wet" season, but such droughts are exceptional. A graph⁸ showing the monthly averages of rainfall at Rabaul, New Britain, over a twenty-two year period from 1914 to 1935 reveals January as the wettest month (14.2 inches), while June, August, and September each had less than four inches. A similar graph compiled from figures collected at Kavieng, New Ireland, between 1918 and 1935 shows April as the wettest month (12 inches), September as the driest (7.2 inches).⁹

⁸ See *The New Guinea Agricultural Gazette*, Vol. 2, p. 34.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 26.

Figures such as these (others might be cited), showing that precipitation is constant throughout the year, are much more significant, especially with relation to agriculture, than such statements as: "The mean annual rainfall for the whole of the Mandated Territory from the figures available is 186 inches."¹⁰

Away from the mainland littoral, seasonal changes are even less noticeable. Mountain ranges protect the hinterlands from the cyclical effects of pluvial monsoons. Rain falls throughout the year, and observers agree that precipitation is exceedingly heavy in the rain-forests of the interior.¹¹ Both the mainland and the islands, however, are free from the typhoons and tropical hurricanes which harass other South Sea areas. Winds of gale force are not unknown on the coasts and even in the interior, but they seldom last for more than two or three days and ordinarily cause little damage either to crops and trees or to dwellings.

Since agrological investigation is still so recent, we must fall back mainly on descriptive accounts for our knowledge of the soils of the Territory.¹² They vary considerably in fertility, even within a single district, and depend primarily on the character of the rocks from which they have been formed. In general, one may say that the most fertile regions coincide with areas of recent volcanism; hence the Baining Mountains, Watam, and Karkar are the "garden spots" of the Bismarck Archipelago. Where the soil is composed of pulverized pumice, as around Rabaul, it is not suitable for intensive agriculture unless well watered. The mainland coast and the coralline shores of other islands are as a rule either too sandy or too shallow to yield abundant crops; soapstone and limestone are often too close to the surface. In the cleared areas and savannahs the perpetual rains bring about continual lixiviation of the soil, but under the virgin forests there are said to be sufficient plant-foods to insure a rich topsoil if it is carefully utilized. The Sepik has the most fertile swamp-plains of any of the great mainland rivers.

¹⁰ E. R. Stanley, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

¹¹ I. F. Champion (*Across New Guinea From the Fly to the Sepik*, p. 185) says, "I can imagine nothing more dismal than travelling in the wooded highlands . . . in wet weather. The cold wet moss covers the ground; the trees covered in thick moss, too, seem to weep as they sigh in the breeze. Thick mists add to the discomfort." In these higher altitudes, the temperature drops to the 50's during the night; on the highest mountains it registers just above freezing.

¹² For convenient summaries of the soils of the Territory, see E. C. D. Green, *New Guinea Agricultural Gazette*, Vol 2, pp. 10-16; *Official Handbook of the Territory of New Guinea* Chapter III; and E. C. J. Mohr, "De Boden van Nederlandsch Nieuw Guinea," *Nieuw Guinea* (W. Klein, ed.), Vol. I, Chapter III.

There the alluvium is richer and of finer texture than in either the Markham or Ramu basins, both of which tend toward sandy loam. This district, according to the Director of Agriculture for the Territory, is eminently suited for the cultivation of wet or dry rice.¹³

Conservative but well-informed opinion leads one to make no extravagant claims for the fertility of the areas now under cultivation. In the newly discovered mountain valleys of the interior, however, preliminary agricultural experiments seem to indicate a very rich soil. The success of European plantings in the Bulolo and Purari Valleys, together with the evidences of intensive horticulture on the part of the local natives, give promise of extensive agricultural possibilities in this region.¹⁴

The forest and plant life of New Guinea points to closer morphological connections with the Malay Archipelago than with Australia. The similarities, however, are not so great as to allow classification of the two regions within a single floral province.¹⁵ No botanical boundaries separate Northeast New Guinea from Papua; the nature of the forests and vegetation is the same in both territories. Great diversity is, of course, to be expected in the flora of a country which extends from humid, equatorial coasts to snow-capped mountains and whose soils and rainfalls show such marked regional variations. Some 3,000 species of plants and trees have been described, 900 of them peculiar to the Territory alone. On low-lying coasts and at river mouths the vegetation is composed of swamp forests containing many species of mangrove trees and nipa palms. Just above the swamp level grow willowy casuarina trees and the glossy-leaved Barringtonia. Coastal forests are rarely of great depth and soon give way to extensive rain-forests with a great variety of plant and tree life. Most of the trees are of soft wood, although cedars and the hardwood known locally as "kwila" occur. Lianas, creepers, rattan, and lawyer-vine form thick webs among the trees, shutting out sunlight and impeding human travel. Ferns, begonias, mosses, and orchids grow underfoot or attach themselves to trees and vines. In the swampland country a thick layer of oozy, decaying vegetation offers the poorest imaginable support for travel on foot, and the extensive

¹³ Personal communication from the Hon. G. E. Murray.

¹⁴ Personal communication from Inspector W. MacG. Pestle of the Department of Agriculture.

¹⁵ P. Van Zorn (*Nieuw Guinea* (W. Klein, ed.), Vol. I, p. 314) says, "It appears that the forests of the lowlands, which are periodically inundated, are composed of the same botanical species as the forests of Sumatra and Borneo, and that the forests which are not inundated differ from those of Sumatra and Borneo by the almost total absence of the *dipterocarps*."

stands of sago palms and tough swamp grasses are only occasionally interspersed with rain-forest oases situated on firmer ground.

Above the rain-forest belt, at altitudes of 2,000 to 4,000 feet, stands of hoop-pines and oak make their appearance. Higher still, in the broad valleys of the central cordillera, densely-timbered rain-forests give way to grassy plains and park-like expanses with few wooded sections. Thus the thick *Urwalddecke* postulated by earlier German writers who had never penetrated the interior has proved to be non-existent.¹⁶ The extensive wooded areas of the islands and mainland are of little commercial value at present. As Lane-Poole has said: "It is nature's own abundance that makes the forests of these Territories unprofitable."¹⁷ Another observer has remarked in this same connection: "It is as if God... had gathered up all the remaining seeds, shaken them up, then sprinkled them with utter abandon over this island."¹⁸ Fewer species and more accessible stands of pure timber are needed for profitable exploitation.

Two other types of botanical region deserve mention. One of these is the savannah, consisting of larger and smaller oases of alang-alang grass, or *kunai* (Melanesian pidgin), and kangaroo grass. The former is a tough, sharp-edged grass which grows to considerable heights and chokes out all secondary vegetation. It is found on hilly slopes of the dryer coastal regions where the soil is porous, and also in clearings of the rain-forest and in mountain valleys. Large *kunai*-covered plains occur in the great river valleys above the high-water mark. Many of these fields are thought to have once supported primary forests which the natives have slowly cut away. The aboriginal method of fire-hunting in these *kunai* areas acts as a further check on natural re-forestation.¹⁹ Another type of botanical province with Territory-wide distribution is composed of secondary growth in the form of tree-like bushes, wild sugar-cane, pandanus, and many other species of palms.²⁰ Above the timberline on the highest peaks grow many varieties of sub-alpine plants and mosses, as yet neither adequately described nor classified.²¹

¹⁶ E. W. P. Chinnery, "The Central Ranges of the Mandated Territory of New Guinea from Mount Chapman to Mount Hagen," *Geographical Journal*, Vol. 84 (1934), pp. 410-11.

¹⁷ C. E. Lane-Poole, *The Forest Resources of the Territories of Papua and New Guinea*, p. ii.

¹⁸ R. Hanselmann, *In the Jungle of New Guinea*, p. 9.

¹⁹ C. E. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

²⁰ M. Krieger, *Neu-Guinea*, p. 46.

²¹ Data on the flora of the Territory were taken from *Report to the Council of the League of Nations* (1923), paragraphs 19 to 20; and *Official Handbook of the Territory of New Guinea*, pp. 159-68, unless otherwise specified.

While the flora of New Guinea bears a general resemblance to that of Indonesia, its fauna is typically Australian. Probably this is due in part to ecological principles, but primarily it is a result of historical factors, the long isolation of New Guinea and Australia from Asia having prevented the younger species of Asiatic mammals from migrating into this area.

Most of the autochthonous fauna of New Guinea is found only on the mainland and on the island of New Britain, the smaller islands lacking many species. Little Aua Island, for instance, had neither the pig nor the dog prior to the advent of Europeans. The placental animals include the pig and dog—probably introduced by man—rodents of several species, native porcupines, and several species of bats. Most of the indigenous animals, however, are of the primitive, non-placental type known as marsupial. These include wallabies, bandicoots, tree-kangaroos, flying-squirrels, and opossums. Whales and dugong, neither of them very common in Territorial waters, are the only sea mammals. Reptiles include the crocodile, the largest living creature in the area, lizards of various sizes, and a few species of snakes, some venomous.

The relative scarcity of animals contrasts sharply with the rich bird life. The ostrich-like cassowary is the largest; the bird-of-paradise, in nearly one hundred species and sub-species, is more famous. Another bird noted for its beauty is the goura, or crested-pigeon. The megapod, or bush-fowl, which lays its eggs in warm sand to be hatched by the sun's heat, is peculiar only to New Guinea. Other species include herons, ducks, rock pigeons, crows, parrots, swallows, starlings, woodcock, kingfishers, frigate birds, and fly-catchers.

Every order of insects is abundantly represented in New Guinea, including some of the largest and most brilliantly colored specimens known. Some of the orders—butterflies, for instance—contain types of rare beauty; others, however, not only cause acute discomfort to humans but may also carry disease. Among the latter may be mentioned mosquitos, midges, ants, sand-flies, bush lice, leeches, centipedes, and scorpions. Fortunately not all of these pests are apt to be found in any one district, but no section of the Territory lacks them completely.

Marine life is rich and varied. Sharks, turtles, saw- and sailfish, and tarpon are the larger varieties. Many species of smaller edible fish abound in the oceanic waters; albacore, flounder, grouper, herring, mackerel, kingfish, mullet, schnappers, and sea-bass being the most important for food. The coral reefs swarm with an immense variety of small, incred-

ibly colored fish, as well as sea-slugs and many kinds of shell-fish. The fresh water fish are mostly migrants from the ocean and are small and unimportant. The rivers also provide eels and prawns, which are caught for food.²²

The known mineral resources of the Territory were totally unrealized by the aboriginal population. The social effects of large-scale exploitation, which began in the latter twenties, have been largely indirect, resulting from the need for more native labor, the rise in the European population engaged in mining, and the increased tax revenue available for governmental services. European interest has focused largely on gold, but oil has also been sought in recent years, as yet with little success.

Alvaro de Saavedra, who early in the sixteenth century gave the name "Isle de Oro" to New Guinea, was only the first of a long line of avid but timid gold-seekers. When he and his followers found no gold in the possession of the coastal natives, they avoided the toil and peril of prospecting in the unknown interior. No concerted attempt was made to find "pay-dirt" in the fastnesses of the mainland until some years after the German occupation in 1884; then both the Neu-Guinea Kompagnie and the Imperial Government sent out parties which reported "colors" but no reefs or veins worth exploiting. At the same time individual miners, both German and British, who drifted over from Papua, prospected in the hinterlands, but without much success. Nevertheless, the belief that gold was there persisted. In 1922, Stanley, the Commonwealth geologist, stated: "There is little doubt of the existence of reefs in the older country, but these are situated in the mountain ranges and are inaccessible as far as bringing heavy machinery into the locality is concerned."²³ Only four years later this brilliant prophecy was fulfilled when a genuine strike was made on Edie Creek, a tributary of the Bulolo River, sixty miles inland from Salamaua. Stanley could not foresee that the rapid development of multiple-engined aeroplanes could successfully solve the problem of heavy transportation. Since 1926 other auriferous fields have been discovered in an ever-widening circle around the original strike, and "colors," together with real fields, have been found in other

²² Data concerning the fauna of the Territory are found in *Official Handbook of the Territory of New Guinea*, pp. 208-17; and L. F. De Beaufort, "Fauna," *Nieuw Guinea* (W. Klein, ed.), Vol. I, pp. 211-18.

²³ E. R. Stanley, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

parts of the Territory, in the islands as well as on the mainland.²⁴ After the height of the minor gold rush in Paula, according to the late Lieutenant-Governor,²⁵ prospectors were wont to make a remark quite applicable to the present situation in the Mandated Territory: "There is plenty of gold in Papua, but there is too much of Papua mixed up with it."

B. THE ABORIGINAL CULTURES, A SURVEY

Since the purpose of this study is to analyze the changes which have occurred in native New Guinea folkways as a result of contact with European culture, we shall first present a condensed survey of the indigenous social institutions. Stated in human terms, we are here dealing with the mutual adjustments of organized social groups whose traditionally formulated behavior, beliefs, and values are grounded in widely divergent cultural contexts. The broad gulf separating the mode of life of Europeans and natives effects a major distinction. Less striking perhaps, but nevertheless of no little importance, are the cultural differences among the many native societies themselves. As subordinated members of the dual society of modern New Guinea, the natives have been made to bear the greater burden of adjustment and change, whatever may have been the tenor of their ancient customs.

Anthropological research the world over has shown that social change occurs within native cultures prior to and irrespective of contact with Europeans. Any theoretical statement of social evolution must therefore take into account these slower and less extensive changes which arise in response to forces within societies, regardless of their level of development.²⁶ We know, as yet, too little of the internal history of aboriginal New Guinea to attack the problem on an exclusively primitive level, even if such an investigation were relevant. But the object here is to present materials which have a direct bearing on the problems of contact and change in New Guinea today. In so brief a review as this it will be necessary to consider the native cultures as if they were static; but this should

²⁴ See *ibid.*, pp. 57-8; *Official Handbook of the Territory of New Guinea*, pp. 217-26; and N. H. Fisher, "Report of the Government Geologist," *Rabaul Times*, No. 634, July 30, 1937 (and following).

²⁵ H. Murray, *Papua of Today*, p. 20.

²⁶ This point is well brought out in R. Linton, *The Study of Man*, p. 296. For special studies on the basis of New Guinea data, the reader should consult the papers of R. Thurnwald and F. E. Williams in *Essays Presented to C. G. Seligman*, edited by E. E. Evans-Pritchard and others. In our own study of the Kwoma this fact came frequently to our attention. See J. W. M. Whiting and S. W. Reed, "Kwoma Culture," *Oceania*, Vol. 9 (1938-39), pp. 205-6.

not be taken to imply that we must begin from a hypothetical "zero point" of change, for, as Malinowski²⁷ has made clear, such a concept does not implement but rather confuses the aims of contact studies. Instead of reconstructing the aboriginal cultures, we may deal with them in large part as still functioning entities, isolating what is indigenous and traditional from the imported and novel. The summary to follow has been assembled mainly from the already existing ethnographic literature, but to it have been added the author's own observations in the field. This material will serve as a basis for orientation; later chapters will show how the "original" folkways have been modified and remolded by extraneous forces; for, what New Guinea cultures are today can be understood only in the light of what they were before being subjected to the enterprises and administrations of the white man.²⁸

The depiction of what is uniquely native in the present life of the Territory is rendered more difficult because of the very social changes which we are trying to understand. Rising generations may neglect former taboos and feel no need to become proficient in some of the older techniques and ceremonials. Ethnographers, however, have striven long and hard to record the essential cultural equipment of several native New Guinea societies and have created a dependable body of cultural information on which we may draw. In the absence of any but the most superficial ethnographic summaries in English, the present section may be regarded as one of the very few inventories of our knowledge to date concerning the cultures of the Mandated Territory.²⁹ Until more field

²⁷ B. Malinowski, *Methods of Study of Culture Contact in Africa*, pp. xxv-xxxii.

²⁸ This summary is based on cultural data from societies within the political boundaries of the Mandated Territory. Limiting the field of inquiry to this area is not so arbitrary as a casual glance at the map might lead one to believe. While the problems of controlling the natives and directing the contact process are essentially similar in the Territory of Papua, Netherlands New Guinea, and in other islands of Melanesia, the relatively shorter period of European dominance and the continuity of administration in the Mandated Territory allow it to be treated as a discrete area.

²⁹ A. B. Lewis, *Ethnology of Melanesia*, although dealing with a broader region, contains valuable data from the Mandated Territory. It is rather too brief and too general, however, to be of much value for our purposes here. G. A. S. van der Sande, *Nova Guinea: Vol. 3, Ethnography and Anthropology*, is concerned primarily with Netherlands New Guinea, but includes comparative materials from the Mandate. Chapter 5 of the *Official Handbook of the Territory of New Guinea* devotes a hundred pages to the physical types, languages, and some aspects of the cultures of the indigenous tribes, but is disappointingly superficial.

The Germans, on the whole, have made many more successful attempts to depict and compare all of the known cultures in what was their former South Seas protectorate. The outstanding work by far, despite its brevity, is R. Thurnwald's article, "Papuanisches und Melanesisches Gebiet südlich des Äquators einschliesslich Neuguinea," *Das Eingeborenrecht*.

work is done, particularly among the all but unknown hinterland tribes, no definite work of this sort may be expected. The remoteness of the area, the trying conditions under which research must be prosecuted, and the expense involved, all stand in the way of the field worker in these parts; consequently, he who would use library sources for a general knowledge of the people is faced with a real dearth of information.

No serious attempt has yet been made to define a common, Territory-wide, aboriginal culture, for the existence of many discrete cultures in such a large and discontinuous area militates against it. It is obvious, for instance, that the sea-faring Manus of the Admiralty Islands have a culture which differs markedly from that of the mountain-dwelling Baining of northeast New Britain; the deeply pigmented peoples of Bougainville Island bear little resemblance, either physically or in their daily life, to the villagers on the Upper Sepik River. In brief, there is no single culture in the entire region under review which may be called typical of all the rest; nor so far as is now known, has there been any one which has served as a fountainhead of diffusion or center of cultural dominance. Moreover, the linguistic patchwork of mutually unintelligible dialects spoken by mainland tribes, a barrier to communication between villages living in some cases within sight of one another, is indicative of deeper cultural differences which must be considered. Hence, in a summary statement of this sort, we are forced to draw from as many cultures as possible.

Two conditions, however, seem to justify the attempt to generalize about the social institutions of native New Guinea as a whole: *first*, the basic strain of uniformity, or common ethos, which seems to underlie all New Guinea cultures; and *second*, the common treatment accorded the various local tribes and villages by the Europeans—official and non-official—who have come in contact with them.

If there were more ethnographic data on the Territory, especially information concerning mainland peoples, it might be possible to reduce the multiplicity of societies to a smaller series of more or less homogeneous culture areas. Cultural summaries of the societies within these areas would then, perhaps, give the most concise picture of how the various peoples live, their forms of social organization, their religious beliefs, and all the rest of the cultural minutiae by which culture areas are delimited.

As the situation now is, this can be done to a certain extent among the island societies of the Bismarck Archipelago, concerning which our knowledge is more complete. Yet the amount of overlapping of cultural elements there is so great that such a presentation would result in useless redundancy.

In "Melanesian" and "Papuan," however, we have a pair of terms which can be of some service in the descriptive and comparative study to follow. These are general terms used in ordinary parlance by untrained observers to differentiate between the island peoples and those dwelling on the mainland. These terms were not based originally on analytic study, but rather on whatever criteria seemed to offer a means of classification for a variety of different purposes.³⁰

Thurnwald³¹ has shown the way toward a scientific use of these terms by giving them new, albeit broad, meanings grounded in the widest range of ascertained fact. In an analysis of New Guinea peoples and cultures on the basis of their physical characteristics, languages, and economic, political, and social organizations, differences appear which seem to tip the balance toward one or the other of these two broad classifications. The difficulties encountered when one tries to use the terms as tags for discrete categories, however, show how extensively they overlap. The fact that so many cultures exhibit a mixture of elements called Melanesian and Papuan is witness to the lack of any fundamental antithesis between them. To cite a single instance, the peoples of the Middle Sepik River are closely akin to certain islanders in physique, yet they speak a non-Melanesian language. The author passed through the same cycle of certainty and doubt as did Dr. Neuhauss,³² who, after a few months' sojourn, thought that he could distinguish a Melanesian from a Papuan. After longer residence, he was sure that he could not. What this absence of clear-cut distinctions signifies is that there are no culture areas, and few if any culture complexes or institutions, which may be regarded as being purely Melanesian or purely Papuan. Tribal migrations, racial mixture, and acculturation on the aboriginal level have progressed very far throughout the entire region under review.

³⁰ The term "Melanesian" originally referred to skin color alone. "Papuan," on the other hand, was first used by early Portuguese and Spanish navigators to signify woolly-haired natives. Both terms were resurrected by a linguist, the late S. H. Ray, to classify those languages found in the archipelagos east of New Guinea ("Melanesian") and all others in the area which did not conform to that type ("Papuan").

³¹ R. Thurnwald, "Papuanisches und Melanesisches Gebiet . . ."

³² R. Neuhauss, *Deutsch Neu-Guinea*, Vol. 1, p. 86.

The second condition which serves to justify a summary treatment of New Guinea cultures is, in part, a reflection of the first. Here we refer to the equality, if not homogeneity, of native cultures in the eyes of Europeans in New Guinea. It is significant for the subject matter of this study that natives everywhere in the Territory receive substantially the same treatment, regardless of cultural differences apparent to the trained observer. Individually the whites are not totally insensible to cultural and linguistic variations among native groups; however, the practical affairs of employers and missionaries, of government officers and recruiters, are not revamped to meet the differential conditions obtaining among the various groups. Cultural differences of a minor nature which do not jibe with the system imposed by the white authorities may be resolved as specific situations arise. But a basic pattern of native adjustment to white demands has gradually emerged, and much of it is now backed by legal sanctions.

COMMUNITIES AND LOCAL GROUPINGS

Despite the evidences of ethnic and cultural fusion to be seen on every hand, autonomous aboriginal societies in New Guinea have remained small. Natives, as a rule, share feelings of homogeneity and solidarity only with those who dwell together and cooperate with them in their own settlements. Wherever larger groups do combine—for trade, military operations, or intertribal ceremonies—the state of affairs is quite literally an armed truce. Even within what are called “tribes,” smaller groups may show ambivalent attitudes toward one another: intermarrying and trading, but also seeking at times to kill in order to gain trophy heads.

It is difficult to select a terminology which will in every case apply to the social groupings of aboriginal New Guinea. The term “tribe,” as usual, is especially hard to define. Thurnwald,³³ for instance, in calling the Tjimundo of the Keram River a tribe, says: “. . . in this region every village may enjoy the honour of such an appellation. Each village has its own peculiarities of speech, of culture equipment, even of physical type and social deportment. This is explained by their relative isolation and, sometimes, the considerable distance between settlements.” Countless other names might be substituted for the Tjimundo in this quotation.

As was mentioned above, further field work and subsequent anthro-

³³ R. Thurnwald in *Essays Presented to C. G. Seligman*, p. 345.

pological analysis may eventually allow a re-classification of villages and tribes into some such broader configurations as culture areas. But at the present time our patchy knowledge renders such an approach premature. There is no question but that natives are aware of the cultural bonds uniting larger groups; actually, however, little importance attaches to that fact alone. In view of the paucity of occasions when villages, tribes, or settlements cooperate in some common purpose, we cannot regard culture areas in New Guinea as functional entities. The extraneous forces arising in the contact situation today are fraught with much more significance for the future social organization of New Guinea peoples than were any purely local developments in pre-European times.

When we discuss warfare and political organization, the lack of integration among native social aggregates larger than villages will make clear why it is that we hesitate to call the participants in a common culture a "tribe." However, no purpose is gained in a comparative account by limiting "tribe" to represent simply a village; so instead of arguing over definitions, we shall allow the facts to speak for themselves. Later chapters will show how forces extraneous to native society are effecting not only an enlargement of the peace group, but also a new, Territory-wide *kanaka* culture. At present, however, our interest lies in the physical and social aspects of their emplacement.

It would have been advantageous if more anthropologists who have worked in New Guinea had gone beyond mere descriptive accounts of local house types and methods of construction. Valuable as such information is, houses and household equipment are simply the material setting for social life. The size of the settlements, the number and relationship of people who dwell in each house, and the uses to which other buildings are put are problems which both the administrator and the student of cultural change must face. Today, when government officers force a settlement of scattered hamlets to come together and build a model village, the techniques of construction remain the same; but the altered living arrangements resulting from such a shift create the need for new social adjustments.

Among the inhabitants of the Admiralty Islands, a homogeneous culture and common language are shared by those who call themselves Manus. About 2,000 of these natives dwell in eleven settlements which consist of double rows of pile-houses standing in lagoons off Great Admiralty or over the water in the lee of small, outlying islands. There

are few social connections and no common political organization among the several settlements. Only in war or on the rare occasion of inter-village feasts do villages participate as units. Inter-village marriage and clan removals (in which a disgruntled section of a clan changes its residence to another village) create ties between clans of different settlements, but not between entire villages.³⁴ Within the Manus settlement the houses of related clansmen and their families are ordinarily grouped together in a certain section of the village. There is no ascertainable social significance, however, in the double row of houses: members of the same clan may dwell on either side of the "street." Special ceremonial halls or structures are lacking.³⁵

Another type of settlement is found in the St. Matthias Group, to the eastward of the Admiralty Islands. The cultural and ethnic variations within this small region are not great, but still we note the absence of common bonds of solidarity and political organization. These people live in independent villages composed of scattered hamlets.⁶ Each hamlet has its leader, or headman, whose house forms the social and ceremonial focal point of that section of the village. Thus, while the village is the largest social grouping—a thickly populated village containing from 300 to 400 persons³⁷—the social and economic life centers in sections of the village. The hamlet is basically a family settlement consisting of a man, his wife or wives, and their children. Membership in this unit is based on matrilineal descent, children being regarded as members of their mother's sub-clan. Hamlets may combine for economic pursuits, but there are no ceremonial houses for the whole village or for moieties in the village.³⁸

On the coasts of the Gazelle Peninsula yet another type of settlement is found. Here villages in the ordinary sense do not exist. Instead, scattered hamlets made up of two or three grass-thatched huts set in coconut palm groves and surrounded by a protecting bush-fence dot the shores. These small establishments, located off the native tracks and back from

³⁴ M. Mead, *Growing Up in New Guinea*, p. 249. The fluidity of clan or sub organization among the Manus is a condition which is found in many New Guinea societies. Just as the personnel of the group is constantly in process of change, so, too, are the groups themselves. Clans die out, split up, and merge with other clans; clan organization is an evolving process as well as a structure, and its dynamic nature must never be lost to sight.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 327, *et seq.*

³⁶ H. Nevermann, *St. Matthias-Gruppe*, pp. 158-63.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

³⁸ E. W. P. Chinnery, *Notes on the Natives of E. Mira and St. Matthias*, pp. 150-1.

the shore, house one or two individual families of matrilineally related people, a primary peace-group among whom quarrels are of rare occurrence.³⁹ A number of such hamlets are bound together—by kinship ties, economic affairs, and a feeling of solidarity—into a community. The latter occupies contiguous territory and is politically organized, acting as a body in time of war. The largest of such communities could not marshal a fighting force of more than 300 men, and the average number would be much smaller.⁴⁰ Some idea of the fragmentary nature of the social groupings in this area is gained when we realize that the Blanche Bay (Livura) people number approximately 30,000 individuals.

The coasts of Buka and north Bougainville are fringed with true villages composed of two lines of evenly spaced family dwellings with a dancing ground between. The village is the important local group and consists of from six to thirty huts, each occupied by an individual family. In polygynous marriages the wives have separate establishments. Men's houses,⁴¹ distinguishable from dwellings only because of their greater size, are found in this area. In every village two matrilineal clans, one of which takes precedence over the other, are basic to the social organization. Traces of other clans show that this is not a simple moiety system, however.⁴²

A more marked case of social stratification, which is reflected in the physical plan of the settlements, is found among the Buin people of southwest Bougainville. The type of village met at Buka Passage gives way here to hamlets comprising small groups of isolated dwellings, as on Blanche Bay. These hamlets include sleeping houses built on piles and also ground-level work- and storehouses. The main path through the community leads directly to the chief's hall, an elaborate structure belonging to the ruling family. This is the social, ceremonial, and economic center of the community.⁴³

³⁹ P. Kleintitschen, *Die Küstenbewohner der Gazellehalbinsel*, pp. 44-8; F. Burger, *Die Küsten- und Bergvölker der Gazellehalbinsel*, p. 16.

⁴⁰ Kleintitschen, *op. cit.*, p. 272.

⁴¹ "Men's house," "ceremonial house," "goblin hall," and the Melanesian pidgin "house tambaran" are all synonymous terms for the special structures, ordinarily held sacred and taboo to women, where important tribal ceremonies are held and where the men may sleep.

⁴² B. Blackwood, *Both Sides of Buka Passage*, p. 32. In the mountainous interior of Bougainville one again comes upon the hamlet type of settlement. Little more than the outlines of these cultures are yet known, since no anthropologist has paid them more than fleeting visits.

⁴³ R. Thurnwald, "Im Bismarckachipel und auf den Salomoinseeln, 1906-1909," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, Vol. 42 (1910), pp. 113-15.

Moving back to the island of New Britain, we find that the villages on the southwest coast and off-lying islands, which comprise at most about a hundred people, are not laid out according to any formal plan. Within the village each family occupies a house of its own, polygynous wives sharing the same dwelling so long as they remain on amicable terms. It is customary for the married men to sleep in the men's house located at one end of the settlement. Since descent is reckoned bilaterally here, kinship ties serve to unite members of several settlements. For most undertakings the villages act as self-sufficient units, but in ceremonial affairs they tend to cooperate. However, quarrels arising over sorcery may cause an entire family to move to another village and give its allegiance to its headman. Furthermore, the whole village may change its location and name for any number of reasons—economic, social, or religious.⁴⁴

In western New Britain, as in Bougainville, different types of settlement are encountered in the interior, although there are more similarities in social organization to that of the coastal dwellers than have been noted on the latter island. The warlike people dwell in small stockaded villages, fitted with look-out towers and always ready to repel attackers. Their gardening, carried on some distance from the settlement, necessitates having an armed guard.⁴⁵

No sudden change in type of settlement is met when we turn from the Bismarck Archipelago to Northeast New Guinea. Further diversification of types is encountered, together with certain less apparent underlying differences; but the transition, as might be expected, is gradual.

The Nor-Papuans,⁴⁶ who dwell on a chain of lagoon-islands fifteen miles west of the mouth of the Sepik River, may be taken as representative of the societies on the western coast of the Mainland. The Nor-Papuans number approximately 1,000 persons, and are divided into three territorial groups called Karau, Murik, and Kaup. Each of these districts is subdivided into three villages, the village being the primary social unit. Houses are pile-built structures which shelter married sons and daughters as well as the parental pair. This group cooks at the same fire and acts as a

⁴⁴ J. A. Todd, "Report on Research Work in South Western New Britain, Territory of New Guinea," *Oceania*, Vol. 5 (1934-35), pp. 84-6.

⁴⁵ E. W. P. Chinnery, *Certain Natives in South New Britain and Dampier Straits*, pp. 59-86.

⁴⁶ *Nor* means "man" in the local language; these people have no general name for themselves.

unit in its daily economic chores. Construction of a man's house, however, cuts across village lines as men from other settlements help in its building and enjoy the feasting and ceremonial license which prevail on the completion of each stage in construction.⁴⁷

In the fen country of the Sepik River basin still other varieties of living arrangements may be seen, reflecting different social and economic concepts and activities. On the banks of the lower reaches of the river are villages composed of several quite large dwellings and even bigger ceremonial houses. A road or pathway running back from the river and at right angles to it divides the village into duplicate sections. This corresponds to the social division of the village into two septs or clan-moieties. The houses of each sept extend in a double row on each side of the central pathway. On the down- and up-stream sides of this line of dwellings are the ceremonial houses, which take their names from their respective septs. Each family of the sept has its own traditional fireplace in the ceremonial house, its position on the right or left being correlated with the exogamous marriage system between the septs. Exchange-marriage with other villages serves to create outside ties of affinity.⁴⁸

The Iatmul of the Middle Sepik River, who number approximately 10,000 persons, live in twenty-odd villages on either side of the river.⁴⁹ The large raised dwellings accommodate two or three patrilineally related families, each of which has its own fireplace in a corner of the structure. The houses are not lined in rows or arranged in orderly fashion; nevertheless, there are some traces of a dual division of basic social groupings in their placement, members of each "moiety" having their dwellings at one end or the other of the cleared dancing ground. The most striking characteristic of these villages, however, is the presence of large ceremonial halls located in the center of the dancing ground. These structures are sacred to the initiated men of the village and are the property of partic-

⁴⁷ J. Schmidt, "Die Ethnographie der Nor-Papua (Murik, Kaup, Karau) bei Dallmannhafen, Neu-Guinea," *Anthropos*, Vol. 18-19 (1922), pp. 700-5.

⁴⁸ R. Thurnwald in *Essays Presented to C. G. Seligman*, p. 350, and "Some Traits of Society in Melanesia," *Proceedings of the Fifth Pacific Science Congress*, p. 2808. The same investigator has given a much more detailed description of one of the villages in this region, that of the Banaro. See *Banaro Society* (Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association, Vol. 3, 1916). M. Mead reports a similar village plan among the Mundugumor in *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Communities*, pp. 168-9.

⁴⁹ "Iatmul" is a general term given them by the anthropologist, for they lack a common name in their own language. Bateson's capricious u-umlaut has been dropped in this volume.

ular clans. One, two, or more of these huge structures may be seen in each village, their saddle-backed roofs topping the tallest coconut palms.⁵⁰

In an isolated mountain enclave west of the Iatmul area and north of the Sepik River dwell the Kwoma. These people, numbering less than 900 in all, share a common culture and language, but are divided into four (latterly five) communities. No political authority binds them together; social solidarity is expressed only in the common name, occupation of a contiguous territory, and a modicum of trade and intermarriage. The community rather than the tribe is the ordinary peace-group; and while two or more may combine for war, their opponent may be one of the other communities of the same tribe. Villages, in the sense of lined or clustered dwellings, are absent; small hamlets inhabited by individual families closely related in the male line dot the ridges and slopes of the mountains, each oriented with relation to the ceremonial house of its respective group. As is so frequently the case elsewhere, the architecture of the ceremonial house differs considerably from that of the family dwellings. The contours of the terrain are so irregular that few spots are large enough and level enough to serve as both dance-place and ceremonial-house site.

The sparse information we have concerning the little-known peoples of the plains north of the Sepik point to still other types of settlement. Six very large villages, for instance, have been seen approximately halfway between the Sepik River at Ambunti and the northern coastal ranges. Their populations, estimated at from 600 to 1,000 each, are notably large for single settlements in New Guinea, especially on the mainland. These villages are made up of clusters of two or three houses, in fenced yards, situated on either side of a long winding track that leads through the settlement. It requires upwards of an hour to traverse such a village. Ceremonial houses in this region exaggerate the style of construction employed in the dwellings, i.e., the ridgepole slants sharply toward the rear, and the walls touch the ground. No pile houses are found in this area.⁵¹

Between these large villages and the Sepik are numerous smaller

⁵⁰ G. Bateson, "Social Structure of the Iatmul People," *Oceania*, Vol. 2 (1931-32), 257-61; R. Thurnwald, "Some Traits of Society in Melanesia," *Proceedings of the Fifth Pacific Science Congress*, p. 2808; M. Mead, *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Communities*, pp. 238-9.

⁵¹ R. Thurnwald, "Vorläufiger Bericht über Forschungen im Innern von Deutsch Neu-Guinea in den Jahren 1913-1915." *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, Vol. 49. (1917) pp. 147-79; also personal communication from the late H. D. Eve.

places of from fifty to 250 inhabitants. From preliminary accounts some of these would seem to resemble the scattered Kwoma communities in outward aspect; others, however, are crowded together on an eminence or piece of rising ground where their groups of small huts can be palisaded on the exposed side to prevent attacks by hostile neighbors.

Far to the west, on the Hauser River (a tributary of the Sepik), is found a type of settlement worthy of special mention, the co-called horde house. These are large, gable-roofed communal houses of very flimsy construction which stand twenty to thirty feet above the ground on hundreds of slim posts. As a rule one such building, sheltering up to fifty people, comprises the entire settlement; more rarely two of them will be found together. Fireplaces are ranged along the sides of the hall, one for each married couple, while the center serves as a sleeping place for older children. When the structure seems in imminent danger of collapse through decay or the ravages of termites, the poles are gathered and carried to a new site. Besides its function as a dwelling, the horde house also serves as a temporary burial site and a storehouse for relics of the dead. Corpses wrapped in bark are suspended under the roof to await decomposition. Then the skulls are removed and kept among the household gear as objects of veneration.⁵² It may be mentioned in passing that the Purami-Yowani people of the Maander Mountains at the confluence of the Yellow and Sepik Rivers have a similar method of disposal of the dead. Despite this and certain other cultural similarities, however, the latter people clearly belong to a different culture. Their settlements, for instance, consist of widely scattered hamlets of a few small and very crude single-family houses built on piles. Neither culture has special ceremonial houses, although there are said to be certain forest clearings which are utilized for feasts and dancing.

The Min ⁵³ people, as the inhabitants of the Sepik headwaters may be

⁵² R. Thurnwald, "Vorläufiger Bericht . . ." p. 166: L. Schultz-Jena has given the complete description of these curious communal houses in his report "Forschungen im Innern der Insel Neuguinea," *Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten*, Vol. II (1941). Also personal communication from E. D. Robinson, sometime Assistant District Officer, Sepik District.

⁵³ See W. Kienzle and S. Campbell, "Notes on the natives of the Fly and Sepik Headwaters, New Guinea," *Oceania*, Vol. 8 (1937-38), pp. 463-81.

This name was chosen by the present writer owing to the fact that the majority of tribal names in this district end in *-min*: Telifomin, Kiarikmin, Boelmin, Ulapmin, Nianmin, etc. Kienzle and Campbell offer no common name for all of these mountain people, although they refer to those near the junction of the Ok-Tedi and Sepik Rivers as the Telifomin (*ibid.* pp. 466-9).

designated, have one structure which resembles the horde house but is much smaller and seems to be primarily a defensive building for protection of the gardens. The Min village consists of a dozen or less gable-roofed houses, raised scarcely more than one foot above the ground, erected around a small square or rectangle with a men's house at one end. There are exceptions to this general plan, as there are in so many other "patterns" in New Guinea, but we cannot go into detail about them here.

Passing now to the central regions of the Mainland, the large populations of the Upper Purari River, in the Morobe District, are divided among villages of forty to sixty round or long huts which cluster on hill-tops overlooking the sweeping grassland valleys. These settlements are generally fortified by a double palisade, with brush growing between the two barriers. Such villages are met every few miles, the intervening area being devoted to gardens. Each of these villages is an autonomous unit and is equipped with men's houses as well as family dwellings.⁵⁴

Thanks to the efforts of Father Ross,⁵⁵ a missionary, we know more of the culture of the tribes in the vicinity of Mt. Hagen than we do of many groups much closer to the centers of white settlement. Few Europeans have yet seen many of the estimated 18,000 people who dwell in this district. Seven "tribes" may be distinguished, primarily by linguistic criteria and tales of origin rather than by distinctive customs. The Mogeï and Kobe, together comprising about three thousand individuals, form one of these rather vaguely defined groups. They are not village dwellers, but build their houses anywhere in what they regard as the tribe's territory. The dwellings do cluster in groups, however, each of which the Father calls a "place." Such settlements contain from five to forty houses (thirty to 200 individuals), but lack large ceremonial houses for men. Park-like clearings surrounded by flowering shrubs serve as dance-grounds in each "place"; these are the social and symbolic centers of the settlements.

Following the Purari River southward toward the Papuan border, the clustered-hut communities of the open plateau disappear and horde houses are again the prevailing type. Remarkable tree-houses of considerable size—some of them two-story affairs—have been reported by

⁵⁴ H. Bernatzik, *South Seas*, pp. 97-8, 105-17.

⁵⁵ W. Ross, "Ethnological Notes on Mt. Hagen Tribes," *Anthropos*, Vol. 31 (1936), pp. 341-63.

recent explorers.⁵⁶ A few of these buildings, which are perched on the hacked-off tops of a dozen or more big trees, are estimated to measure 100 feet in length by thirty or forty feet in breadth. Nothing is as yet known of the social organization of these communities.

Certain tentative conclusions seem to issue from these facts regarding settlements and local groupings in New Guinea. The type of settlement appears to have little direct relationship to the nature of the land which it occupies. There are, of course, the pile-house adjustments of lagoon villages and settlements in the flood valley of the Sepik and its tributaries. But pile-houses are also found in upland regions. Furthermore, we find scattered hamlets in both wooded mountain regions and on open plateaus, not to mention their occurrence on the coasts of the Gazelle Peninsula. Regularly laid out villages arranged according to preconceived plan also appear on beaches, on level inland plains, and in some mountain regions. In brief, topographical considerations seem to affect but slightly the characteristic layout of the settlement.

Secondly, the size of the settlement is likewise variable. Leahy⁵⁷ has noted that on the Purari plateau the communities of a given district regularly tend to be of very nearly the same size. This, in fact, served as a major criterion in determining the limits of ethnographic districts. The same seems to hold true for other restricted regions or districts in the Territory. Thus, the five sub-tribes among the Kwoma have roughly the same population strength, as do the communities in the Blanche Bay region. But once we move out of the populous districts, we find that the surrounding settlements are much smaller. This is regularly the case in the interior of the islands; while the large villages of the northern Sepik watershed are surrounded by neighbors who live in communities roughly only one-third to one-fourth their size. It is suggested that further ecological and demographic research throughout the Territory will uncover important theoretical points which administrators may do well to consider.

Finally, enough has been said to show that purely cultural factors play an important role in influencing the nature and organization of the settlement; the subsistence economy, the political organization of the community, and the wider system of social relations all must be taken into account and assigned their proper positions.

⁵⁶ M. Leahy and M. Crain, *The Land That Time Forgot*, pp. 92, 95.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 156. This is also the opinion of Patrol Officer J. Taylor, who has traveled and explored extensively in this region.

THE FOOD QUEST AND ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

The idyllic picture of the South Sea native casually plucking his food from the nearest tree is a far cry from reality. Sharing of food by kinsmen and neighbors may ward off actual starvation in time of need, but the aboriginal commissariat is never filled by nature's hand alone; while drought, causing crop failures, high winds that prevent fishing, and other unforeseen events, can bring want to an entire community.

Three basic factors impose limitations on the native margin of sustenance: the poverty of the uncultivated land in edible foodstuffs; the perishable nature of the bulk of the produce; and the absence of techniques for rapid distribution and preservation. The scarcity of fruit trees and wild food plants is in striking contrast to the general luxuriance of the tropical vegetation. Abandoned village sites may have groves of coconut palms or fields of cultivated plants gone wild, but their former owners or their descendants usually retain a lien on such property. Moreover, fish and game are not so plentiful as to compensate for the scarcity of wild vegetables. In the humid climate of New Guinea, few staple foods will withstand long storage. Taro must be eaten soon after harvest, although sago, yams, coconuts, and sweet potatoes may be kept for a few weeks or even months. Subsidiary foods are thus of greater importance to taro eaters than to those who depend primarily on yams and sago. In the preservation of flesh foods only the simplest of smoking methods are used.

No line can be drawn dividing the economic life of Melanesians from that of Papuans, for no such cleavage exists. In the organization of the food quest and in the produce thereof a general uniformity prevails throughout the Territory. New Guinea peoples are essentially horticulturalists, practicing a hand-tillage economy with fire and the digging stick as their basic tools. Geographic location is the chief determinant of diet. The sago palm, for instance, grows only in low-lying fresh water swamps; coconut trees do not flourish more than a few hundred feet above sea-level; and yams grow poorly in soil composed of recent volcanic deposit. In general, flesh foods are of secondary importance except on ceremonial occasions. Otherwise they form little more than a relish in a preponderantly vegetarian diet.

It is possible, therefore, to divide the Territory into three main districts on the basis of their staple foods. The people of the Bismarck

Archipelago and the mainland coast east of the Sepik River depend primarily on taro and coconuts, although their gardens have a greater general variety than those elsewhere. The natives of the great river-plains on the mainland are, first and foremost, sago-eaters, with yams rather than taro as the chief tuberous food. In the much higher altitudes of central New Guinea the principal crops are sweet potato and sugar cane. While environmental restrictions play an important part in determining what may be raised—above 5,000 feet, for instance, yams and taro are seldom found, while sago palms and coconut are entirely absent—traditional factors may also govern the choice of staple food. Some of the island people, for instance, as well as certain of the mainland groups, cultivate sago palms, but sago does not bulk large in their diet.

The secondary vegetable foods of the New Guinea native are few in species, but endless in varieties. If space permitted, we might show the traditional predilections of individual groups for specific types of tubers, fruits, and nuts, and also assess the relative importance of different crops for the native diets. Coconut palms, for instance, are cultivated on the island shores, in sea-level river valleys, and on coastal foothills of the mainland; but it is only on the coralline atolls, where poor soil precludes the raising of extensive root crops, that the coconut is an indispensable item in the native larder.⁵⁸ On the coasts of New Ireland and the Gazelle Peninsula they are planted extensively, the fruit being combined with other foods in a variety of ways. Sepik River natives, by way of contrast, own but few coconut palms and are far from being dependent on them. The banana and plantain are even more widely cultivated than the coconut; they are known to all societies from the St. Matthias Group to the Mt. Hagen district. Only in the northern plains of the Sepik valley, however, do they approach the importance of staples. Breadfruit also finds wide favor; it may be baked whole, as on the mainland, or added to puddings, as among the islanders. Maize, pumpkins, pawpaws, tomatoes, and other vegetables and fruits introduced by Europeans are gaining in popularity among the natives, but none has yet displaced either the staple or the secondary indigenous foods.

As intimated above, there are interstitial areas in which our threefold areal division on the basis of staple foods requires some modification. In the upland valley of the Waria River, for instance, yams are grown along with sugar cane and sweet potato; while sugar canes is raised by

⁵⁸ R. Parkinson, *Dreissig Jahre in der Südsee*, p. 432.

the Iatmul and other people on the Sepik River. It is worthy of note that while the mainland people lack the variety of produce found among the inhabitants of the islands,⁵⁹ those of the central regions are judged by explorers and patrol officers to have the most highly developed methods of hand-tillage and gardening techniques in the Territory. Concentration on fewer species of plants may have fostered the intensive agriculture that has so impressed European observers.⁶⁰

New Guinea societies had but one important indulgence prior to their contact with the outside world: the nut of the areca palm, chewed with the fruit or bark of the betel pepper and lime. Tobacco was grown and smoked among many of the mainland peoples prior to the period of European settlement, but its cultivation and use seem to have been unknown to the inhabitants of the Bismarck Archipelago.⁶¹ All tribes, however, chew betel, with the sole exception of the Mogeï of Mt. Hagen, who neither cultivate nor use it, although a wild variety of areca palm and the pepper plant grow in that region. The Mogeï have quasi-narcotics in the form of ginger and a wild mushroom which are taken in times of great sorrow or anger, inducing a temporary psychotic condition. Betel nut, however, is chewed whenever the individual feels so inclined; seldom is it prohibited on the basis of sex or age, although the Kwoma do have a mild taboo on its use by women and uninitiated boys. Other groups may taboo it during special occasions, such as initiation ceremonies. Everywhere it bears a special symbolism of trust and friendship among those who chew it together. Native fermented drinks, e.g., palm wine or other alcoholic beverages, are completely absent in New Guinea.⁶²

Animal husbandry is even less advanced in New Guinea than horticulture. The domestic animals found by the first white explorers and settlers were pigs, dogs, and fowl; indeed, in the Western Islands even these were

⁵⁹ R. Thurnwald. "Papuanisches und Melanesisches Gebiet südlich des Äquators einschliesslich Neuguinea," *Das Eingeborenerecht*, Vol. 2, pp. 442-3.

⁶⁰ E. W. P. Chinnery, "Mountain Tribes of the Mandated Territory of New Guinea from Mt. Chapman to Mt. Hagen," *Man* (1934), No. 140; W. Ross, *op. cit.*

⁶¹ All the evidence points to the fact that tobacco is not an indigenous plant, but was probably introduced in pre-European times, possibly by Malays. Why it did not spread to the Bismarck Archipelago cannot be clearly shown, but intergroup hostilities and the limited amount of overseas trading may have been significant factors. See E. Merrill, "Tobacco in New Guinea," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 32 (1930), pp. 101-5.

⁶² Parkinson reports finding *piper methysticum* under cultivation on Lou Island of the Admiralty Group; the roots were crushed to make a drink for the men. This is apparently the only mention of *kava* in the literature of the Territory. See *Dreissig Jahre in der Südsee*, pp. 373-4.

lacking at the time of first contact. The inhabitants of St. Matthias had no fowl, and dogs are thought to have been introduced by native boys returning from work on European plantations.⁶³

The village pig derives its importance not simply from its role in the food supply, but also from the many social situations such as trading, marriage payments, and feasts, in which it plays an indispensable, although frequently symbolic, part. Every group that knows of the animal, no matter where located, has its quota of tamed porkers. Even the lake-dwelling peoples south of the Sepik River (e.g., Kambaramba, Wom, and Ratan) raise amphibious pigs, who swim as easily as they walk.

In addition to the prestige that accrues to the owners of swine, a sentimental bond unites the people and their swine.⁶⁴ New Guinea women, as is well known and as the writer witnessed, often suckle shoats along with their own children. The care with which pigs are raised thus makes household pets of them, so that they will come when called. They are frequently given individual names, and may have their ears or tail cut so that they will not be mistaken for wild animals by hunters. When a pig dies or is killed for a feast, the women wail as for a dead kinsman.

Although the people around Mt. Hagen are potato-eaters, they consume, according to Father Ross,⁶⁵ "twice as much" pork as do coastal people; and among them pig husbandry shows several interesting points of development. Their pigs are sheltered in the women's houses at night, and to this end they have been partially housebroken. Physiological reproduction is understood to the extent that owners of sows in rut pay stud fees to the owner of an uncastrated serving boar and promise him one shoat out of the expected litter. Castration of hogs is quite common throughout the Territory, although the reasons given for doing it vary.⁶⁶

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 432-3; H. Nevermann, *St. Matthias-Gruppe*, p. 86.

⁶⁴ When we speak of pigs and dogs as "pets," we must guard against too close an identification with our own attitude toward animals. Native behavior toward them seems grossly inconsistent from our point of view: the half-starved dog which has just been fondled by its owner may receive a vicious kick or clubbing if it suddenly steals some food or gets under foot. There is no effective pattern of kindness toward animals in New Guinea cultures which resembles our own. Pigs for a feast on New Ireland had their legs broken to prevent their running away, and were allowed to lie thus for hours before being slaughtered; Nor-Papuans trussed the beasts on poles prior to butchering and suspended them over a blazing fire to singe off the hair; fowl customarily had scalding water poured over them while still alive to loosen the feathers. The inculcation of our own concepts of the sacredness of life, even in its lower forms, is one of the hardest tasks which face the field officers of the administration.

⁶⁵ W. Ross, *op. cit.*, p. 350-1.

⁶⁶ R. Neuhauss, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 262-3; B. Blackwood, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

While roast pork is the native's most highly esteemed food, to be eaten only on occasions of ceremonial importance, there is a widely prevailing belief that it is wrong for a man to slaughter or eat his own animals. In St. Matthias, a man does not eat pork from the pigs that he himself raises.⁶⁷ Similarly, among the Arapesh-speaking people of the Toricelli Mountains, the "best" pork is that which has come from so far away that even the names of the persons who raised it are unknown.⁶⁸ On Manam Island pigs are boarded out so that no one eats those that he or she has raised.⁶⁹ The Kwoma, too, have a definite taboo against a man killing his own pigs. They say that this would not be good because it would "send the man's blood down into the pig," the same explanation given by them for outlawing murder within the blood group.

The indigenous dog, a small, smooth-haired animal of the size of a terrier, is now found in every community of the Territory. Although frequently eaten, dogs cannot be said to be kept primarily as a source of food, for their thin dry meat is nowhere preferred to pork. Rather are they used in hunting and kept as pets. In some communities, notably those of the Admiralty Islands and the Sepik River, dog's-tooth necklaces serve as currency and as prized ornaments.

Fowl are few in number in every village, being kept primarily for their feathers rather than for their flesh or eggs.

The natives supplement their gardening and simple husbandry wherever opportunity warrants, by hunting and fishing. On the shores of the islands and the mainland coasts the people engage in fishing to augment their vegetable dishes and to amass a surplus that may be exchanged in trade. Using large and small nets, multiple-pointed spears, unbarbed hooks, fish baskets, compounds, and stupefying drugs, the men pursue the larger fish, such as shark, bonito, kingfish, and the like. Women engage in the more restricted and less dangerous tasks of reef-fishing and collecting small-fry close to shore by means of hand-nets and practiced fingers. Only when large schools of fish appear close in-shore, or at the annual appearance of the palolo worm, does the whole community engage in common enterprise.

⁶⁷ H. Nevermann, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

⁶⁸ M. Mead, *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies*, pp. 28-9. "Arapesh" is an arbitrary term chosen by Drs. Fortune and Mead to designate those Sepik District people who share a common language and culture, but who have no general name for themselves as a group.

⁶⁹ C. Wedgwood, "Report on Research in Manam Island, Mandated Territory of New Guinea," *Oceania*, Vol. 4 (1933-34), pp. 393-4.

Among the river dwellers, fishing is of considerably less importance. There the women do the fishing, with hoop-nets or by means of baskets which they anchor under water close to the river banks. Even in the swift streams of central New Guinea eels and catfish are taken with crude baskets or by the use of stupeficients.

The scarcity of edible fauna in the Territory, as indicated above, has prepared the way for the statement that hunting never assumes the importance of a major occupation. The Baining, who dwell in the interior of the Gazelle Peninsula, are probably as close to hunting people as any in the Territory; but even they depend primarily upon taro crops for their daily quota of food.⁷⁰ Hunting is a male pursuit exclusively, and is regarded in most societies as almost a sport or a prestige-bringing exploit rather than as a necessary adjunct to the food quest.

Wild pig, cassowary, and wallaby are distinguished from other game by more careful preparations for hunting them and in the ritual and ceremonial procedure following the chase. Traditional methods of capture, though varying from place to place, all show an extensive knowledge of the animals' habits under differing local conditions. Smaller pot game—opossum, flying-fox, rats, snakes, and lizards, to mention but a few—is taken more or less at random when encountered in the bush. Game drives or fire rings, in which large groups participate, are used only on the *kunai* plains of the Sepik and Markham river valleys, and seldom occur more frequently than once a year. In an economic sense such a drive is not especially noteworthy, for it results in no more than a single great feast.

It may be stated by way of generalization that the fishing complex is more important to the island dwellers than hunting is to the mainland people, although both are subsidiary to agriculture everywhere. On the islands, co-operative group effort is required in the handling of communal nets or to make the most of a passing school of fish, a situation virtually without counterpart in the food quest among the mainlanders; but hunting is carried on only by small groups of blood relatives or friends. In general, there appear to be fewer occasions for communal economic endeavor on the mainland than among the island natives.

New Guinea natives, like most other primitives, make a sharp division among the economic activities on the basis of sex. Most tasks are specifically designated as either male or female work; only a few chores,

⁷⁰ F. Burger, *Die Küsten- und Bergvölker der Gazellehalbinsel*, pp. 156-64.

and these relatively unimportant, form a "neutral," third type in which persons of either sex may engage. This means that men and women never compete in their traditionally prescribed forms of labor; rather are their tasks complementary. This idea is so integral a part of each culture that it is accepted almost automatically, the result of the whole process of cultural transmission. If one asks a native, for instance, why it is that women carry burdens while the men-folk walk along completely unencumbered, a rational answer must not be expected. The finality with which they say "*ēm i wok bilong mei, dasol*" precludes any argument.

Again in worldwide ethnographic perspective, it may be said that New Guinea cultures exhibit types of economic organization which are comparatively simple. Hereditary occupational groups, guilds, and specialized callings are not found; and the one case of slavery in institutionalized form on the Gazelle Peninsula scarcely deserves the name.⁷¹ The almost complete absence of specialized occupations emphasizes the homogeneity of the productive units. The individual family of husband, wife or wives, and children is the basic work group in both island and mainland tribes. Its male and female members are able to satisfy the majority of their needs without recourse to the aid of others. Special skills and knowledge of practical procedures are met more often in the non-material spheres of healing and sorcery. These latter pursuits, of course, are not divorced entirely from the economic life; but they are clearly of an order different from the basic mode of maintenance. Withal, it seems safe to say that a comparison of New Guinea families with others would place them high on any scale of self-sufficiency.

Nevertheless, the goals of social life are largely shaped by desires beyond mere biological necessity.⁷² In Kwoma communities, for example, a typical work team is composed of men from several sibs who assist in hauling a heavy tree trunk from which one of them hopes to carve a wooden gong. In the construction of a ceremonial sib-house, male members of the blood group cooperate, being repaid by a feast which the sib-leader tenders on completion of the structure. Members of other sibs who have assisted are also compensated for their labors in the same way.

In maritime societies such as Wogeo similar work groups assemble

⁷¹ H. Schnee, *Bilder aus der Südsee*, pp. 213-16; R. Thurnwald, "Papuanisches und Melanesisches Gebiet . . ." p. 571.

⁷² R. Thurnwald documents this point fully for the Buin of South Bougainville in "Pigs and Currency in Buin," *Oceania*, Vol. 5 (1934-35), pp. 123-4.

for the construction of a large canoe.⁷³ Another extension of cooperation and friendly aid occurs in trading among the Schouten Islanders.⁷⁴ In this case, however, cooperation goes beyond the village group and embraces men and women of different islands who adopt or inherit trade-friends among the villages on the mainland. Pleasure as well as profit accrues from these economic-ceremonial relationships.

Other ramifications of the native economic systems work out on the basis of kinship ties and involve the extended family and sib. We cannot go into this matter in detail here; suffice it to say that reciprocal gifts and duties between brother and sister, mother's brother and sister's son, father and son-in-law, and the like, involve individuals in a wide series of obligatory activities of an economic nature.

In summary we may say that the economic systems of Papuans and Melanesians are displayed in the activities of three basic institutional groupings: the individual family or the household, the extended family of blood relations, and the special friend- or interest-group which functions as an economic team. One further category might be added to this list: the community or village itself when it organizes as a whole to produce some special food-stuff or artifact which is exchanged in inter-tribal trade. It is common throughout the Territory for coastal people to carry on regular markets with groups dwelling behind them in the bush. In Buka and Bougainville, for example, coastal and inland people achieve a more balanced diet and wider satisfaction of their wants by exchange.⁷⁵ Similar trading arrangements are found within restricted areas where the environment offers quite different opportunities for village specialization. Sialum, on the coast of the Huon Peninsula, attracts horticultural products from the inland with its surplus of fish and marine products; the Kwoma hold regular markets with the river people at which sago meal is exchanged for fish; the Nor-Papuans cannot support themselves from their own gardens but are dependent on the bush people inland; and each Iatmul village is said to guard jealously its own trading rights in a particular bush tribe.⁷⁶ Still another type of village specialization occurs

⁷³ H. I. Hogbin, "Native Culture of Wogeo—Report of Field Work in New Guinea," *Oceania*, Vol. 5 (1934-35), p. 308.

⁷⁴ H. I. Hogbin, "Trading Expeditions in Northern New Guinea," *Oceania*, Vol. 5 (1934-35), pp. 375-407.

⁷⁵ B. Blackwood, "Report on Field Work in Buka and Bougainville," *Oceania*, Vol. 2 (1931-32), pp. 203-5.

⁷⁶ R. Neuhauss, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, pp. 253-4; J. Schmidt, "Die Ethnographie der Nor-Papua," *Anthropos*, Vol. 18-19 (1922), p. 702; G. Bateson, *op. cit.*, p. 283.

in communities which manufacture particularly fine or highly desired tools, ornaments, and utensils. These places become centers of diffusion for such specialties as clay pottery, mosquito-proof sleeping bags, shell currency, songs and dance forms, stone axe-blades, and plaited baskets.

MATERIAL CULTURE

This brief survey of aboriginal arts and crafts in the Territory may appropriately begin with a consideration of native housing. The most skillfully built houses, from the European point of view, are those of the peripheral Western Islands, Aua and Wuvulu. They are small and rectangular with gable roofs, and are built directly on the ground. Their high walls, made of carefully hewn planks, are mortised into four corner posts; the roofs are of coconut or pandanus leaf thatch, lashed down by fibers.⁷⁷ More imposing structures occur elsewhere in the Territory, but none so carefully made. Scarcity of wood on these atolls, rather than simplicity of tools, is apparently the reason for the care taken in construction.

The large rectangular pile-houses of the Manus show less resemblance to most others in the Bismarck Archipelago than to those on the mainland coast and rivers. As on the mainland, tough springy bark of the areca palm (*limbum* in Melanesian pidgin) is used for flooring material, while the roof is made by folding and lashing hundreds of individual sago leaves over thin lattices. Naturally forked uprights or posts with a shallow notch cut in the upper end support ridge-poles and plates, the most common method throughout the Territory.

The men's houses of the Matankor and Usiai in the Admiralties are more carefully constructed than ordinary dwellings. Beams and uprights carry carved and painted ornamentation representing bird and human figures, while family houses rarely receive such decoration. Matankor and Usiai houses, while of the same materials as the Manus, are round and oval, as well as rectangular, in ground-plan and are set directly on the earth.⁷⁸

In the eastern portion of the Bismarck Archipelago, houses are generally small and built directly on the ground, with hard wood uprights, bamboo walls, and palm leaf or *kunai* thatch. Coconut-leaf matting may

⁷⁷ G. Pitt-Rivers, "Aua Island," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. 55 (1925), p. 430; R. Parkinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 418-19.

⁷⁸ H. Hevermann, *Admiralitäts-Inseln*, pp. 242-72.

be used for wall material and also to enclose the gables of houses having them. These dwellings deteriorate faster than the larger and sturdier structures of the Admiralties and the mainland; despite dampness and insects they may last two or three years, although the roof needs renewal within that time.

Neuhauss⁷⁹ says that Papuan houses are generally built on piles, except where earth tremors might destroy the dwelling or where the ground is too rocky. His use of the term "Papuan" in this context, however, can no longer be extended to cover all of the mainland peoples. Many inland tribes live in small, ground-level dwellings, but the majority of villages on the coast of Northeast New Guinea from the Dutch to the Papuan border have pile-houses.⁸⁰ Furthermore, structures of the same basic design, though varying in size, roof-type, and floor-height, are found on both the Markham and Sepik Rivers. The persistence of this pattern, even when not fulfilling the obvious functions of avoiding floods and high water, is attested by the Mountain Arapesh, the people of South Bougainville, and the natives of western New Britain, all of whom have both raised-floor and ground-level houses.⁸¹

Fortified villages and houses built primarily for defense occur sporadically in the interior of New Britain and Bougainville, but are more frequently met with in the remoter sections of the mainland. Contours of the land are utilized to simplify the problem of palisading for defense.

The natives spend so many of their waking hours in their gardens or on the sea that the poverty of their household furniture is not surprising. A hearth for light, heat, and cooking; plank beds, leaf mats, and bark slabs for sleeping and reclining; and numerous clay pots, coconut-shell and bamboo water containers, wooden bowls, leaf and fiber baskets, and cooking utensils exhaust the normal complement of household gear. Some regions have specialties of a more elaborate kind; for instance, the wooden stools and plaited sleeping baskets of the Lower and Middle Sepik River.

⁷⁹ R. Neuhauss, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 212-15.

⁸⁰ The Aitape district, and Bongu, on Astrolabe Bay, are exceptions. See O. Finsch, *Samoafahrten*, pp. 45-7.

By way of clarifying the term "pile-house," it may be said that it is not the house itself which is built on piles, but only its floor. One set of uprights carries the weight of roof and walls; shorter posts support a framework on which the *limbum* flooring is laid.

⁸¹ M. Mead, *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies*, p. 4; R. Parkinson, "Zur Ethnographie der nordwestlichen Salomoinselfn," *Abhandlungen und Berichte des Königlichen Anthropologisch-Ethnographischen Museums zu Dresden*, Vol. 7, 17-18; R. Parkinson, *Dreissig Jahre in der Südsee*, pp. 209-10.

Availability of material is often a determinant; pottery, for example, is more common in Northeast New Guinea than in the Bismarck Archipelago, where clay is scarce.

Although the need seldom arises, two methods of fire generation have been reported. In the Melanesian area and on the coasts and rivers of the Sepik District it is made by the fireplow; in the interior along the Papuan border the saw-trap method is most common. Except on ceremonial occasions, when all the fires in a community are extinguished, coals or embers can always be borrowed from neighbors.

Prior to the advent of Europeans, stone, bone, shell, and wood were the only materials used for tools and weapons, and even today imported iron and steel implements have not completely supplanted the older types. Native craftsmanship, moreover, shows real artistic achievement. The fine houses of the Western Islanders, the fretted *malagans* of New Ireland, the feather-work masks of Lower Sepik and Ramu River tribes, the woodwork of the Iatmul, and the beautiful greenstone axes of the Wahgi Valley people all manifest techniques and skill of a genuinely high order.⁸² The European bias in favor of metal tools is apt to blind Western observers to the practicability of fine work with implements made of other materials.

The common tool for heavy work in wood—cutting house timbers, hollowing log canoes, and shaping wooden gongs—is a knee-shaped adze, less frequently an axe, with a blade of tribacna shell or stone. Adzes of this sort are found in the Bismarck Archipelago, on the mainland coast, and some distance into the interior. The true ax, with blade lashed in wooden bits so that the cutting edge is parallel to the handle, appears on the Upper Sepik River and in the Mt. Hagen district. Those of the latter region are among the finest ever found.⁸³

Small hand tools for incising, scraping, smoothing, and polishing are everywhere simple. Island- and coast-dwellers use sharp shells and flakes of obsidian; many tribes have drawing knives made of pointed and sharpened boars' tusks; virtually all of the natives fashion animal teeth and

⁸² See R. Firth, *Art and Life in New Guinea*, *passim*.

⁸³ F. Firth says: "The recently discovered tribes around . . . Mt. Hagen have as one of their most characteristic art forms a battle-axe, the white or pale-green blade of which is so perfect in its thin tapering symmetry that it is reminiscent of some early Chinese treasure." (*Op. cit.*, p. 28.) The reference to China may eventually prove more than fortuitous, for many scholars have been struck by parallels between Asiatic art forms and designs and those of New Guinea, the buffalo horn motif and serial interlocking scrolls being two of the more obvious.

small bones into knives, needles, and awls. Certain more specialized tools are found in particular districts. The pump-drill, for instance, is common among shell-working tribes; it is used to bore holes for stringing. In the region around Aitape, large shell rings are cut into arm-bands by means of a length of bamboo of the proper diameter with weights attached. Other special tools with a wider distribution include adze-shaped sago-crushers, wooden mortars and pestles for breaking up colored earth or areca nuts, wooden hooks for securing fruit from trees, digging sticks, and bamboo knives.

Apart from walking, the only means of travel is by canoe. People dwelling near the ocean and on the larger rivers make and use dug-out canoes of several types and sizes, for fishing, trading, and ordinary transportation. The swiftness of the current in some rivers of central New Guinea precludes their use as arteries of travel; hence they become barriers rather than aids to communication. They may be bridged, however, by felling trees across them or by constructing elaborate "cat-walks" of lawyer-vines and rattan.

The typical sea-going canoe has a hollowed tree-trunk hull and a single outrigger, but details of size, shape, and methods of construction vary considerably. Sailing canoes occur only among the Manus, Siassi, Nor-Papuans, and a few other coastal tribes; as might be expected, these are the most skilful watermen of the Territory. The ordinary canoes of St. Matthias, New Ireland, and Blanche Bay are small and unfit for extended voyaging.⁸⁴ They are used for fishing and for trade and travel in the close vicinity of the villages, and are the property of the individuals who build them. Larger craft, constructed under the direction of a clan or village leader, are communal property. These are made with greater care and in accordance with traditional ceremonial usages, often including specific sexual taboos on the workers and a human sacrifice at launching or during the trial run.⁸⁵

The Nor-Papuans, living near the mouth of the Sepik River, between the outrigger-canoe area of the coast and islands and the river region where simple dugouts without outriggers are used, have both types of craft.

⁸⁴ A few plank boats are made on Buka, Bougainville, and southern New Ireland, along with the common outrigger type. This, however, is clearly an exotic form which has become diffused in relatively recent times from other islands of the Solomon Group.

⁸⁵ H. I. Hogbin, "Trading Expeditions in Northern New Guinea," *Oceania*, Vol. 5 (1934-35), p. 380; J. Schmidt, "Die Ethnographie der Nor-Papua," *Anthropos*, Vol. 18-19 (1922), pp. 717-22.

River canoes vary in size from eight- or ten-foot children's boats to enormous vessels of fifty to sixty feet, which can carry twenty or more grown men. There are also minor differences in the manner of treating bow and stern and in the form of carved ornamentation, but one and all are efficiently adapted to the still, shallow waters of the swamps, as well as to the smooth surface of the flowing streams. Outrigger canoes are always propelled from a sitting position, but the men of the river tribes invariably stand to paddle, or, in swamps, to pole, their canoes. They use a long paddle with a swallow-tail blade, handy for thrusting logs, swamp-grass, and other impeding objects under the hull. The river women always sit in the bottom of the canoe and use a short paddle with a pointed oval blade.

If the term "clothing" be limited to mean only such articles of apparel as offer protection from the elements, the New Guinea native must certainly rank as the "naked savage" *par excellence*. Mats and hoods to protect the wearer from sun and rain are not uncommon; but vanity, sexual modesty, and local convention rather than practical utility dictate fashion. The physical need for clothing may be said to be absent; but its place is taken by the culturally-defined necessity for adornment.

While adults of both sexes in regions as far removed from each other as Blanche Bay and the plains north of the Middle Sepik regularly go completely naked, we may generalize and say that the mainlanders as a whole are more apt to wear some sort of pubic covering than are the islanders.⁸⁶ Among the latter, the men, particularly, are wont to go unclad. The usual male covering of the coastal people and of the atypical Manus is the tapa T-band, a long narrow strip of bark-cloth wrapped several times around the waist and then passed through the legs from behind. Lower Sepik River natives have the same attire, but those of the Middle Sepik wear bunches of leaves or, when they have killed an enemy, the membrane of a fruit-bat's wing (*bilak bokis* in Melanesian pidgin), as pubic covering.

Whether or not we should consider the phallocrypt, or penis-case, as clothing or ornament is a question. This unique device, made of bamboo, gourd, or plaited reeds, is peculiar to tribes in the extreme western section of the mainland, both on the coast and deep in the interior. Just as the *bilak bokis* ("black box") of the Iatmul is connected with an

⁸⁶ This refers to conditions during the earlier periods of European contact. Changes have taken place very rapidly in response to European demands.

important institutionalized activity, head-hunting, so, in several groups, does the wearing of the phallocrypt appear to have a broad social significance correlated with such things as initiation, warfare, and mourning observances. What has led different peoples to relate the male sexual organ with such cultural phenomena, the scanty data will not permit us to say.

The basic article of female dress is a grass or fiber skirt. It may be a true skirt, but more frequently it appears as a pair of aprons, hanging from a waist string and leaving the flanks exposed. This is the case in Manus and in Sepik River tribes. As one moves inland from the coast, however, skirts tend to be more abbreviated, although they never disappear.

Both sexes wear arm and leg bands of reed or fiber and necklaces of various kinds, but the variety of ornamentation and adornment is so great as to defy description. Ordinarily, the native is content with the simplest devices—a feather, a flower, a bamboo comb, or some face-paint; it takes an important event in the community to bring forth all of the native finery and special regalia, age, sex, and status dictating what an individual may affect. Kwoma boys and young men, for instance, wear special feathers indicating their initiatory status; Manus men don finely worked shell-money skirts for dancing, while the women have tapa aprons decorated with feathers; among the Kai and their neighbors a small disk of shell may be worn on the forehead by men who have killed an enemy. Specialized ritual paraphernalia are used in sib and village ceremonies by particular functionaries.

It is safe to say that shell is the most highly prized material for ornaments although dried seeds, flowers, feathers, fur, clay, and wood are also used. Bracelets, arm-bands, necklaces, and breast pendants made of shell are important not only because of their aesthetic appeal but also on account of the role they play in native financial systems. Animal teeth, of pigs, dogs, and opossum, are likewise highly prized; they also may serve as units of value both within and outside the tribe. Many an "ornament" is worn not only to enhance the person but also as protection in warfare, as insurance against sorcery, or as a guarantee of success in amatory adventures.⁸⁷

Closely allied with ornamentation is decorative bodily mutilation, practiced by virtually all New Guinea peoples, either to enhance individual

⁸⁷ R. Parkinson, *Dreissig Jahre in der Südsee*, pp. 146-7.

beauty in accordance with local standards or to make possible the attachment of pendants, nose-sticks, earplugs, and the like. Piercing the septum and ear lobes of children of both sexes occurs everywhere in one form or another. Particular types of scarification, such as tattooing, found in Manus and New Ireland, and keloiding, common among mainlanders, or unusual mutilations with restricted distribution, such as head-binding, confined to western New Britain, follow traditional dictates of local custom.

PROPERTY AND TRADE

Misunderstandings over property concepts have caused endless trouble wherever European and native peoples have come into contact. Both generally agree on what property is; seldom, however, do their ideas as to its meaning coincide. Yet, as in European culture, primitive ideas concerning property are an integral part of all the social institutions and are vitally linked with their functioning. Proper understanding, therefore, requires careful analysis of both behavior and ideas whenever land, produce, artifacts, services, or skills, are purchased, bequeathed, or exchanged.

A native property right in New Guinea cultures may be vested in an individual, a family, a sib, or a community. Land, for instance, while sometimes held privately, may also belong to one or all of the larger social groupings, according to the various tribal conceptualizations. On the north coast of the Gazelle Peninsula the clan owns land in common, while the neighboring Varzin people have individual ownership.⁸⁸ In New Ireland two types of land are held groupwise: that called *tsinanis*, on which dwell clan animals and, supposedly, the spirits of the dead, is clan property; village land, much more important economically, is owned in common by all the inhabitants of a community. Only the products of this land belong to individuals.⁸⁹

In the Admiralty Islands and on Blanche Bay, land is the property of the clan, but gardens are owned by individuals, including women. In the northern Solomons the ownership of land is vested in the village; the apportioning of it, however, is in the hands of the leading headman.⁹⁰

⁸⁸ F. Burger, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

⁸⁹ H. Powdermaker, *Life in Lesu*, pp. 157-60.

⁹⁰ R. Parkinson, *Dreissig Jahre in der Südsee*, p. 374; F. Burger, *Die Küsten- und Bergvölker der Gazellehalbinsel*, p. 28; B. Blackwood, *op. cit.*, pp. 452-4.

In western New Britain and on the adjacent mainland coast, land is individually held by both women and men. That owned by the women passes by inheritance to their daughters.⁹¹

Property concepts show little variation as between the mainland peoples and those dwelling in the islands. Nevertheless, among the former there seems to be a tendency toward individual ownership of economically important land, while among the latter clan holdings are more common. Kwoma practice and belief may serve as an illustration of conditions among the inland tribes. Here the gardens a man cultivates are his private property, usually inherited from his father. Individual sections, however, are set aside for the crops of his spouse and children. He may also share ownership with a real brother, although each utilizes a separate portion.

The land surrounding such plantings, containing abandoned garden sites, burial platforms, or uncleared bush, is considered sib property. The clearing occupied by the men's house, and the structure itself, are regarded as belonging to the sib leader who took the initiative in its construction; but, owing to the active part taken by sib members in its building, it is *de facto* sib property. Sib lands are clearly defined by natural boundaries. Within these limits most of the cleared and uncleared land is assigned to living and dead sib members, but these private holdings constitute a continuous area.

The combined sib lands of a Kwoma sub-tribe are loosely conceived to be the domain of the whole community. This constitutes essentially a sphere of influence rather than property in a strict sense, because occasions on which the group acts as a unit to defend the domain are relatively few. Inter-tribal hostilities over territory, quarrels with neighbors and interlopers, rarely occur.

Although some land because of its isolation or economic worthlessness is regarded as belonging to no person or group, communities usually lay claim to huge stretches of surrounding country known in pidgin as "*bus nating*." Thus the people of the Markham River plains resent any intrusion into the large grasslands, hundreds of square miles in area, which they use only once a year for fire hunting.

Apart from the land itself, natives in both the islands and the mainland regard fruit trees and coconut and sago palms as the private

⁹¹ J. Todd, "Report on Research Work in South-West New Guinea," *Oceania*, Vol. 5 (1934-35), p. 92; R. Neuhauss, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 260.

property of the person who planted them or his heirs. Property marks carved in the bark or coconut fronds attached to the trunk indicate that a tree has an owner and must not be touched.

Ownership of food stores may lodge in husband and wife equally, or it may pertain only to the individual. Food is of special importance in maintaining the social equilibrium of the community. The integrating factors of mutual aid and reciprocal obligations demand that the individual producer share his food with relatives and friends. Thus kinship by itself may be deemed sufficient cause for distribution and exchange of foods and services. The Kwoma hunter, for instance, gives the wild pig which he has killed to his brothers and other male relatives; he may not eat it. Thus his "property ownership" is not represented by the pig itself but by the obligation which he places on his brothers to return the gift in kind.

Property in movables—tools, clothing, utensils, and ornament—is largely personal and may belong to women as well as to men. Some household gear, such as sleeping baskets, canoes, and pottery, may be owned in common by an entire family or household. Ordinarily, however, what the individual makes by his or her own efforts is regarded as personal property; and since the division of labor between the sexes is so clearly drawn, the distinction between men's and women's things is readily made. Thus men own the stone tools, spears, bows and arrows, shields, and other articles used in male pursuits; women own net bags, pottery, digging sticks, and personal adornments.

While sibs and even whole villages may participate in trading activities, the goods exchanged are almost invariably personal or family property. Therefore, trade takes place between individuals or family leaders rather than between larger groups. Sib property, in brief, consists of such things as ceremonial houses, large canoes, sacred musical instruments, and esoteric masks and carvings. The underlying religious nature and symbolic significance of these articles remove them from the sphere of trade and exchange.

Death mobilizes a number of inheritance rules which are closely allied with the prevailing system of descent and kinship. In the matrilineally organized societies of the Bismarck Archipelago a man's heir is ordinarily his sister's son, although here, as elsewhere in Melanesia, there exists a tendency for men to bequeath some of their property to their own

sons before they die.⁹² In patrilineal societies of both mainland and islands, children inherit from their real parents, but the avuncular relationship also functions. In Kai society, for instance, sons inherit the trees a man has planted; but if there are no sons, a sister's sons receive them. Among the Kwoma, also, the sister's son receives a share of his deceased mother's brother's goods. As a rule, boys inherit male accoutrements and possessions, girls those of women. The estate may, however, be executed by the spouse of some other relative of the deceased before its final partition.

It is not usual for all of the deceased's property to be parceled out among relatives and friends. Most frequently some personal belongings and intimate articles, such as lime containers, net bags, ornaments, and weapons, are destroyed at the funeral or else buried or exposed with the corpse. Part of the deceased's property in trees and livestock may also be destroyed as a sign of mourning.⁹³ Among the Manus the mourners at a funeral are the recipients of the property of the dead man.⁹⁴ Similarly, in the Gazelle Peninsula, a man's wealth in shell money goes to reimburse those who attend his funeral. Only a small portion is held out to be buried with the corpse, so that he will not enter the land of the dead as a poor man.⁹⁵

Non-material property consists of such things as songs, dance-steps, art forms, and special skills. The Mountain Arapesh, for instance, pay in goods for songs and dance patterns which they obtain from their coastal neighbors.⁹⁶ Songs are stolen by the Kwoma, even from sub-tribes within the same culture. Knowledge of sorcery or black magic is another very valuable form of intangible property. A practicing sorcerer receives payment for services, or, if he is unscrupulous and daring, can extort payment by a form of blackmail. His ritual and formulas may be purchased or inherited.

Crises in the individual's life and the festivals and ceremonials which mark important events in the activities of the group are invariably marked by exchange of goods and articles of value within the society. Childbirth, puberty, betrothal, marriage, and death, all involve gift-

⁹² B. Blackwood, *op. cit.*, p. 460; H. Powdermaker, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-4; F. Burger, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-2. This apparent "uncogging" of systems of descent and inheritance in Melanesia was first noted by Bishop Codrington in *The Melanesians*.

⁹³ R. Thurnwald, "Papuanisches und Melanesisches Gebiet . . .", pp. 637-9.

⁹⁴ H. Nevermann, *Admiralitäts-Inseln*, p. 324.

⁹⁵ F. Burger, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

⁹⁶ M. Mead, *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies*, p. 8.

giving obligations to kinsmen and friends. Harvest festivals, termination of warfare, completion of a ceremonial house, and secret society meetings are marked by extensive property transactions among members of both clan and community. Within such a group the principle of reciprocity achieves its fullest expression, for here rights and duties are well defined and correlated with traditionally established values in currency and kind.

Once the necessities of life are satisfied within the group, the people turn outward in search of luxuries produced by others. As a result, the entire Territory is covered by countless small networks of inter-group trading complexes. Here there is a notable increase in bargaining and getting the most for the least, for no public opinion sanctions fair dealings or condemns sharp practice outside of the tribe itself. Yambon men, for instance, noted in their own village for the generosity of their feasts, boasted openly of their skill in cheating the unsophisticated traders from the bush village of Wogu. In dealings outside the tribe or village, miserliness is quite as praiseworthy as generosity within it.

The most frequent and systematic form of inter-village trading is the food market (*bung*, or *bun*, in Melanesian pidgin) at which surplus products of the sea and soil are periodically exchanged. Such markets are usually held by pairs of villages which produce complementary staple foods, mountain and coastal, bush and river. On the Gazelle Peninsula they occur approximately every three days, while at Finschhafen, at the Sepik mouth, and on the Upper Sepik they are held at frequent though irregular intervals.⁹⁷ Women are the active agents at these fairs, although in the past armed men regularly accompanied them to prevent raids. The market takes place, as a rule, on neutral ground between the villages.

The Tami Islanders and the Manus are among the more energetic trading peoples of the Territory. Their large canoes, together with their skill in seamanship, enable them to undertake long overseas trips. Both tribes act as middlemen in their respective areas.⁹⁸ The natives of the Schouten Islands also trade over a wide area, though not on an equal scale. Nevertheless, trading among the various islands, less frequently with tribes on the mainland coast, plays an important part in their econ-

⁹⁷ The time agreed upon for the next market is recorded by knotted cords (*tangkët* in Melanesian pidgin). Each day a knot is cut off, until all are gone. It is then time for another market.

⁹⁸ R. Neuhauss, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 367; H. Nevermann, *Admiralitäts-Inseln*, p. 280; M. Mead, *Growing Up in New Guinea*, p. 90.

omy.⁹⁹ Expeditions to the mainland are outstanding events. Canoes are specially made with elaborate ritual, and well stocked with fish-nets, nuts, lime, tobacco, bananas, and small baskets. In return for these goods the Schouten Islanders hope to receive pots, grass baskets, shell scrapers, cassowary bone spatulas, and ornaments. Aside from their commercial significance, these expeditions emphasize communal solidarity and provide recreation.

Peaceful trade relations do not always obtain between neighboring tribes, although since the imposition of the *Pax Britannica* the traders in strange villages have been free from danger. Feuds and hostilities of long standing as well as ethnocentric attitudes may check trading, but language barriers in themselves are not insurmountable obstacles to commerce. The Siassi Islanders, for instance, who cross to Jabim Island in the spring of every year to trade, speak a different dialect. Nevertheless, deals are arranged to the mutual satisfaction of both parties.¹⁰⁰ This "silent barter" is duplicated in only one other place in the Territory—Buin—so far as is now known.¹⁰¹

Inter-tribal adoption is sometimes employed as a means of overcoming the lack of a common language. Tribes desirous of establishing trading relations may exchange youngsters so that they can learn the other language. Later on, when trading takes place, these boys serve as interpreters.

Although our knowledge of the central tribes is still very sketchy, existing reports indicate quite clearly that these peoples are as keen traders as any in New Guinea.¹⁰² Trade routes crisscross the central valley systems; the Bismarck Range people, it is said, trek all the way into the Territory of Papua to obtain shells and other articles. The stone-axe industry centers in this district; the implements are carried by trade throughout the whole Mt. Hagen area.¹⁰³

Barter, the most common form of exchange in the Territory, is frequently supplemented by standard monies of shell or animal teeth. The

⁹⁹ H. I. Hogbin, "Trading Expeditions in Northern New Guinea," *Oceania*, Vol. 5 (1934-35); C. Wedgewood, *op. cit.*, pp. 394-6.

¹⁰⁰ R. Neuhauss, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 314.

¹⁰¹ R. Thurnwald, "Papuanisches und Melanesisches Gebiet . . .", p. 626.

¹⁰² Muntz erroneously concludes in his *Race Contact* that the aboriginal peoples of the New Guinea mainland knew no trading. His basis for this statement was the report that when Europeans gave presents to these natives the gifts were stoically received and nothing was given in return. All that this goes to show is that Europeans are outside the native limits of reciprocity.

¹⁰³ W. Ross, *op. cit.*, p. 353.

most highly developed currency is the *dewarra* of the Gazelle Peninsula, the Duke of York Group, and New Ireland. *Dewarra* itself (*tambu* in Melanesian pidgin) consists of small, convex shells, bored in the center, and strung on lengths of rattan. It is the basic medium of exchange throughout this whole area, being used in payment for goods or services and in the bride price. It is not only the principal form of wealth, but may also be worn as prestige ornamentation. It forms the material part of a very complex financial system, and loans at a regular rate of interest are made in it. The *vuvue* feast of the Blanche Bay natives offers a good example of the role of this currency in social life. The *vuvue* enables a wealthy man to add to his holdings and thus to increase his prestige and status in the community. After he has spent considerable time and effort in amassing food, fruits, weapons, and ornaments, he distributes them from time to time among the members of his local community, secure in the knowledge that he will be repaid in shell currency. On a fixed day, known to all who have accepted his goods, the debtors come to make payment and to enjoy the feasting and celebration. The *dewarra* is laid at the banker's feet; and even though he simulates nonchalance, it is said that he has a keen memory of all former transactions.¹⁰⁴

The peoples of the Admiralty Islands and the northern Solomons have analogous systems of currency, although the mediums differ and the values are not so clearly defined. The Manus use one type of mussel shell currency for the purchase of birds and pigs, another for field fruits. Dog's-tooth necklaces also pass as a medium of exchange. In Buka and Bougainville discs of bored shell are strung in fathom lengths, as in New Britain. A less common form of currency in these islands, but of much higher value, consists of the teeth of dolphins and fruit bats.

Shells of many different varieties, teeth of dogs, and boar's tusks are symbols of wealth and ostentation highly esteemed by mainland peoples. Each form has a specific, although localized, value depending on type and difficulty of procurement.¹⁰⁵ Moreover, the curvature of tusks

¹⁰⁴ J. Pfeil, *Studien und Beobachtungen aus der Südsee*, pp. 118-19; R. Parkinson, *Dreissig Jahre in der Südsee*, pp. 82-94.

A similar arrangement among the Siwai of western Bougainville was fully reported and brilliantly analysed by Dr. Douglas L. Oliver of Harvard University in a paper presented before the 1940 meeting of the American Anthropological Association at Philadelphia.

¹⁰⁵ The Sepik River is one of the main trade routes into the interior for the transmission of marine shell. Trade is from village to village, so that each shell passes through many hands before reaching the deep interior. By the time they reach the Upper River, if not

and cracks or flaws in green snail shells affect their desirability. Consequently, these articles, unlike *dewarra*, lack fixed standards of value.

Although certain types of currency possess definite values within specific areas, no common money exists for the whole Territory. Dog's-tooth necklaces, prized by the Nor-Papuans and the Wogamush, are not especially desired by the intervening peoples; *dewarra* is simply a curiosity to the Simbang on Huon Peninsula, who are quite content with dog's teeth as a medium of exchange. It is easier to account for the lack of a Territory-wide standard money, however, than it is to explain how societies which are ordinarily at feud come to share a single system of currency. Some answers to this question may be found in the following discussion of native political organization and warfare.

GOVERNMENT AND INTER-TRIBAL RELATIONS

A basic condition of aboriginal New Guinea life is the division of the population into a great number of small, autonomous groups. Many community clusters are interrelated by marriage and descent; two or more adjacent settlements frequently share common speech and culture; economic ties engendered by peaceful trade serve to unite separate villages. Yet, despite the occurrence of such factors making for enlargement of the peace group,¹⁰⁸ the village or community is generally the maximal political grouping.

Analysis of the native governmental institutions is difficult because of the virtual absence of clearly defined authoritarian powers delegated to groups and individuals. Precedent and taboo are the tribunals before which the actions of group members are ultimately judged. These institutional norms, moreover, are not codified, but rather exist as part of the mental outfit of each member of the group. Indeed, the "mysterious" power of native customary law comes down to the fact that in a homogeneous society common traditions and shared experiences endow each individual with a single set of attitudes and adjustments which can be applied in a time-tried manner to all new situations that arise.

before, the shells have been strung on cords or fashioned into ornaments. Those which have not been worked or fashioned are not prized in the upland area. The value of worked shells, such as mother-of-pearl in crescent shapes, increases as one ascends the river. An article valued at two shillings on the coast costs the equivalent of three or four shillings on the Middle River. The Kwoma, on the Upper River, pay five shillings for the same article.

¹⁰⁸ See W. G. Sumner and A. G. Keller, *The Science of Society*, Vol. 1, pp. 390-7.

Despite the universal importance of customary law as the basis of social control, there is a notable difference in the regulative sphere between the islands of the Bismarck Archipelago and the mainland. The chiefship of the islands, simple as it is, represents probably the most complex form of political organization in the Territory. Here a recognized incumbent, hereditary or appointive, occupies an established position as leader of his group. Sib and community leaders do appear in mainland societies, but their amorphous functions and greater dependence on purely personal prestige scarcely allow them the title of chief in the island sense of the term.

Chiefship among the Buin of south Bougainville represents the extreme of political organization in the insular area. Here "great chiefs" stand above hamlet headmen and family leaders, whose relations with the paramount chiefs rest on a personal basis, a form of vassalage expressed in ceremonial feasts. Although the chiefship is hereditary, with the eldest son usually succeeding to office, political power depends in no small measure on personal qualifications. Bodily and spiritual strength are prime requisites of a chief if his powers are to be more than nominal. To be able to decree capital punishment, as he is entitled to do for individuals guilty of local crimes, the chief must enjoy the full support of his community.¹⁰⁷

The coastal people of the Gazelle Peninsula have a form of chiefship scarcely less developed than that of Buin. They recognize a leader, called a *ngala*, who exercises authority in his clan in matters involving shell currency, payment for wives bought for the young men, and the punishment for crime. A *ngala* are always men of considerable wealth and prestige, but their office is firmly institutionalized inasmuch as it is hereditary in the maternal line. If the *a ngala* is not too old, he also serves as war leader of his settlement. When his fighting strength deserts him, or other duties demand his undivided attention, a special leader, called *luluai*, is chosen.¹⁰⁸ The limited nature of the chief's authority appears in cases involving members of other clans and communities.

¹⁰⁷ R. Parkinson, "Zur Ethnographie der nordwestlichen Salomoinselfn," p. 5; R. Thurnwald, "Im Bismarckarchipel und auf den Salomoinselfn," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, Vol. 42 (1910), pp. 125-30.

¹⁰⁸ This term has been adopted by the European government to designate a village chief or headman, chosen or recognized by the natives, who acts as their spokesman in dealings with the white men. Originally a word in the Blanche Bay speech, it has now become a key term and concept in Melanesian pidgin. The term *kukurai*, which denotes the chief among some groups in the northern Solomons, is synonymous with the pidgin *luluai*.

When such situations arise, the adult men convene on an appointed day, or else are summoned to the chief's house by signals beaten out on wooden gongs. The case is then debated by the assembly, the chief having no outstanding part in deciding the action to be taken.¹⁰⁹

Other cases of chiefship as the primary agency of social control might be cited from the Bismarck Archipelago. It occurs in western New Britain, the Admiralties, St. Matthias, and New Ireland, although the extent of jurisdiction of the chiefs and their qualifications for office show minor variations. In the Schouten Islands, for instance, the leaders may be said to represent a mean between the "great chiefs" of Buin and the sib headmen of the mainland. As Hogbin says of the clan leader in Wogeo Island: "He is more than a headman, but less than a chief."¹¹⁰

Throughout the Territory, personal qualities appear to be the weightiest criteria in determining who shall be the community leader. Even where rules of succession obtain, special capabilities and attributes are still important; if a man who would ordinarily succeed his father, brother, or mother's brother fails to display the desired characteristics, he may be overridden by a stronger man who does, or may even be set aside by his own kin in favor of another. In short, the institution of chiefship appears less a rigid structure than a loose pattern within which individuals may play parts of their own making. Special insignia of office do not exist to set the leader apart from his fellows; rather are number of wives, large gardens and stores of currency, skill in crafts, and prowess in war the characteristic marks of chiefship.

In the Melanesian-speaking districts of the mainland coast those who may be called chiefs appear to hold the position of *primus inter pares* largely on the basis of wealth and prestige, and their duties are normally restricted to control of trade, initiation of feasts and ceremonies, and leadership in war. This is probably owing to the fact that hamlets and small localized clans, as well as villages and communities composed of several clans, are not conceived of primarily as political units. The regulative system in these societies lodges in blood, rather than territorial, groupings, and control is maintained within the family and clan by means of traditionally established kinship rights and obligations. This autonomy of sibs in Papuan communities is one barrier to the emergence of village chiefs. Sib leadership is not a political office as such, although

¹⁰⁹ R. Parkinson, *Dreissig Jahre in der Südsee*, pp. 56-9.

¹¹⁰ H. I. Hogbin, "Native Culture of Wogeo," *Oceania*, Vol. 5 (1934-35), pp. 318-19. See also C. Wedgewood, *op. cit.*, pp. 383-4.

these headmen have an important voice in communal activities. The leaders meet in council when questions involving the whole community arise, but all of the adult males meet with them. The influence and authority they possess comes rather from personal prestige than from well defined status in a political structure. Such individuals are known in Melanesian pidgin as "big men."

The "big men" in any mainland society become such not by succession, but through qualities of leadership displayed in the various active spheres of tribal life. They are social rather than political leaders, and their prerogatives, on strictly institutional grounds, are no greater than those of any other villager. Although they may serve at times as arbiters in intra-group quarrels, this is owing to their superior knowledge of tribal custom. If a man is physically strong, a good fighter, blows the flutes well, knows many songs, and is a tireless dancer, he gains the reputation of being a "big man." As Bateson says of the Iatmul: "Certain men become influential in various ways; by a form of shamanism, by wealth, by magical power, by forceful character and intrigue, by prestige in war, by mythological knowledge, and by possessing powerful relatives. This last introduces an element of succession, but of an unformulated kind."¹¹¹ Thus the qualities which make one a "big man" are achieved rather than ascribed.

The absence of chiefs in mainland societies does not signify that customary law is here a more powerful sanctioning agency than in the islands. Rather does it correlate with the smaller size of the groups and their greater cohesiveness. Rules of kin behavior cover the majority of relationships within the sib or localized sib-community, and grievances among blood relatives can be adjusted by the individuals concerned. When theft or murder cuts across sib lines the case may be taken up by all of the men of the community meeting in informal council. In such gatherings, although debate is general, the views of big men carry most weight. The leaders employ patterned forms of rhetoric and gesture in order to shape opinion toward what they deem to be the proper course of action. Such councils are the ultimate authority for solution of questions involving the whole community and its external affairs. They impose and carry out the death penalty, settle major disputes over land, and decide the question of waging war. While not peculiar to Papuan communities, these councils function only as supplementary

¹¹¹ G. Bateson, *op. cit.*, pp. 257-8.

bodies in the islands where chiefs are recognized. Among mainland peoples they constitute the highest courts of arbitration.

However we may define war, it is at once evident that inter-tribal and inter-village feuds are chronic in aboriginal New Guinea.¹¹² Bonds of marriage and trade between neighboring communities do not in themselves insure permanent peace; cultural homogeneity is not sufficient to prevent armed conflict.¹¹³

While eschewing all theories of warlike "instincts," it must be noted that what appear as petty quarrels are not always taken lightly among natives of New Guinea. The "mercurial temper of the child-like savage"—quick to anger and as ready to forget—has received wide credence through many reports by superficial observers. Close examination of actual hostilities, however, reveals that resentment may be long stored up among native groups, only awaiting an opportune moment for release. Moreover, when the causes are laid bare they are seen to be justified in their cultural setting. Again, native concepts of kinship and social organization are such that the family and kin-group are held responsible for the actions of their members. This and the fact that most feuds result from personal injuries obscure any line which might be drawn between public and private law.¹¹⁴

The outstanding motive underlying warfare in New Guinea is revenge; more specifically, feuds break out in retaliation for murder, suspected sorcery, stealing of women, theft of goods, and unauthorized utilization of land. In societies where trophy heads are taken from the victims of a raid, as on the Sepik River, the expedition also serves as a test of manhood for the young men. The raid itself, however, usually moves forth under the banner of retaliation, and the professed reason is to "back" (i.e., pay back) an injury to members of the group. Desire for booty also impels some tribes, notably the Manus and Jabim, to wage war. Finally, the element of high adventure is certainly present in both raids and pitched battles.

Organized hostilities sanctioned by the community are prosecuted along simple tactical lines. The actual fighting is carried on by able-bodied men, although in some localities (Aitape, Tumelo, eastern New Ireland,

¹¹² For a recent critical estimate of war as a cultural phenomenon, see the very suggestive article by Malinowski, "Anthropological Analysis of War," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 44 (1941) pp. 521-50.

¹¹³ R. Fortune, "Arapesh Warfare," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 41, (1939), p. 22.

¹¹⁴ See R. Thurnwald, "Papuanisches und Melanesisches Gebiet . . ." pp. 571-2.

and Buin) women assist by carrying food and weapons and retrieving the corpses of the slain. The most common method of offence is the surprise attack, usually at dawn or when the enemy is off guard. When relatively large numbers are involved, as is more common in island warfare, the contending parties draw up in opposing battle lines. Raiding parties among the Papuans attack from ambush, exposing themselves to the fewest possible dangers. In Buin and the central valleys of the mainland warfare may take the form of sudden raids or formal battle. The latter is a pre-arranged engagement between the warriors of two communities and occurs at some stipulated site. The sportive aspect of war is quite clear in these encounters, which are more noisy than sanguinary.

Aboriginal strife in New Guinea, like primitive warfare in general, is not so destructive of life and property as journalistic writers would have us believe. More time is devoted to hurling insults than casting spears, and a small number of casualties ordinarily terminates a conflict. This may be understood as a phase of the principle of reciprocity: when two or three members of one community have been killed, blood revenge demands the death of a similar number among the aggressor group. To kill eight or ten would upset the balance and breed trouble. The retaliatory raid, therefore, is not to be classed with wars of conquest and extermination. The latter, though not unknown in New Guinea, are very rare; they occur far more frequently in tribal mythologies than in present actuality.

The aftermath of war includes two spectacular practices, cannibalism and the taking of trophy heads, which have earned for these natives an infinitely evil reputation. Not all of the tribes follow these gruesome customs, for the people of the Western Islands and St. Matthias, the mountain Arapesh and the Mogeï, are neither cannibals nor head-hunters. The reports show, also, that cannibalism is more prevalent among the islanders, head-hunting among the people of the mainland.¹¹⁵

The nature and meaning of these activities are difficult to determine even in areas that have been thoroughly investigated. The obvious abhorrence with which all Europeans regard them has made the natives loath to admit their occurrence. However, we know that tribes of eastern New

¹¹⁵ Nevertheless, Kienzie and Campbell report: "All the mountain people [i.e., the Min people of the Sepik headwaters] are cannibals and make no secret of the fact that the flesh of enemies slain in battle is eaten." See "Notes on the Natives of the Fly and Sepik River Headwaters, New Guinea," *Oceania*, Vol. 8 (1937-38), pp. 470-1.

Britain, New Ireland, and the northern Solomons butchered and ate the bodies of enemies slain in battle.¹¹⁶ There is conflicting evidence as to the occurrence of cannibalism in the Admiralty Islands. Some of the tribes there are said to be cannibals, others not. The coastal dwellers, as is often the case, claim that the people of the interior, the Usiai, are cannibals, but that they themselves are not. The custom is certainly less common in this area than in islands to the eastward. The incidence of cannibalism among mainland peoples seems limited to the eastern coastal area. The Kai and Bukaua are professed man-eaters, and the Mundugumor eat the bodies from which trophy heads have been removed.¹¹⁷ Head-hunting, however, is the distinctive method of treating the enemy corpse in mainland warfare, and the Sepik¹¹⁸ is the center of this complex.

The head-hunting practices of the Sepik natives are not strictly comparable with the cannibalistic customs of the islanders. Both are the aftermath of combat, it is true, but as a prestige exploit head-hunting is the more highly organized activity. It is an integral part of the male maturation process (in the cultural sense), symbolizing the achievement of adult status in the society. Among the Iatmul, for instance, it has been called "the most important male occupation."¹¹⁹ The killing and eating of enemies in cannibalistic groups certainly brings prestige as well as spiritual strength, but it is not the focal point of such a body of ritual and doctrine as make up the head-hunting complex. A final point of comparison appears in the fact that the people of the islands are not endo-cannibals, whereas the Sepik natives treat the heads of their deceased relatives just as they do those of enemies. The soft parts are allowed

¹¹⁶ W. Powell, *Wanderings in a Wild Country*, p. 248; H. Powdermaker, *op. cit.*, pp. 185-6; B. Blackwood, *op. cit.*, pp. 502-5. Romilly was a fascinated, if appalled, witness of a native battle and subsequent cannibal feast on the east coast of New Ireland. He has given a vivid description, one of the best extant from the Territory, in *The Western Pacific and New Guinea*.

¹¹⁷ R. Neuhauss, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 267-8, and Vol. 3, p. 21; M. Mead, "A Reply to a Review," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 39 (1937), p. 561.

¹¹⁸ The name "Sepik" is said to come from the language spoken by the Awar people, living just to the east of the river's mouth, in whose speech it means "place from which death comes." Thurnwald, in "Some Traits of Society in Melanesia," *Proceedings of the Fifth Pacific Science Congress*, p. 2806, says that "Sepik" is erroneous and that the proper name for the river is Kaguia. We are not told who the people are who have given the river that name; and with all respect to the greatest explorer of this mighty stream, it is hard to see why one tribe rather than another should have the sole right to give the river its name. Nevertheless, the universal use of "Sepik" by both natives and Europeans in New Guinea today has already fixed that name firmly.

¹¹⁹ M. Mead, *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies*, p. 243.

to decompose, the skull is built up with clay, and bright colors and scroll designs are applied to it. Bits of shell may represent the eyes, and the original hair is glued on.

The weapons used in raids and war are quite distinct from the tools and hunting gear of every day life, even though resembling them both in shape and in simplicity of construction. Spears, bows and arrows, wooden clubs, shields, daggers, axes, and stone slings complete the arsenal of New Guinea fighting implements. No group possesses all of these weapons, and the kind and design of the principal ones vary in different cultures. Except for ceremonial gear and dance objects, weapons are probably the most richly ornamented articles of native manufacture. The careful carving, decoration, and coloring of fighting gear symbolize its deep social significance.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND THE LIFE CYCLE

We have now sketched the types of bonds which unite groups on the basis of common domicile and cooperative economic pursuits; it remains to indicate the range of blood and marriage ties and to show how groupings so determined function within the native cultures. Marriage forms and practices, ceremonies at birth and puberty, and funeral customs, all of which are carried out on lines traditionally determined by the conceptual structures of the several societies, reflect variations in the basic schemes of social relationship and kinship classification.

The systems of descent show two extremes, far removed both geographically and socially: the matrilineally organized societies of the eastern Bismarck Archipelago, loosely labeled Melanesian; and the smaller groups of the interior of Northeast New Guinea, called Papuan, predominantly patrilineal in descent. In the island and coastal area between these two extremes are found cultures in which descent lacks such strong unilinear emphasis.

The St. Matthias Group lies within the Melanesian area and shows full development of the matrilineal system. Here the largest kin group is the phratry, four of which have been reported, composed of a number of sibs whose members are not allowed to intermarry. Both the phratry and its component sibs have connected with them special animals and objects of a totemic nature, and the totem is said to be taboo as food.¹²⁰

¹²⁰ E. W. P. Chinnery, *Notes on the Natives of E. Mira and St. Matthias*, pp. 113-14; H. Nevermann, *St. Matthias-Gruppe*, p. 182.

In New Ireland, coastal New Britain, and the Duke of York Group matrilineal sibs, which are exogamous and vaguely totemic, are also found; but in these areas the sibs are grouped in moieties rather than phratries. Membership in a moiety widens the sphere of possible relationships, for kinship is extended in a classificatory manner to include a larger percentage of the total population. Furthermore, moieties of the same name—Hawk and Eagle, for instance, in New Ireland and the Tabar Group—extend over wide areas.¹²¹

Most peoples of the northern Solomons also reckon descent matrilineally; but, as Blackwood says, "Clan division [i.e., sibs] seems to play a less important part in the life of these natives than it does in other Melanesian communities."¹²² The historic traditions of several clans now extinct prove that no moiety division ever prevailed in these societies. What must be noted, however, is the existence among them of a rudimentary form of class stratification. This is particularly marked in Buin, where both ranking families and commoners are organized on a patriarchal and patrilineal basis, although the bush tribes in the hinterlands are classless and matrilineal.¹²³

It must be emphasized that systems of descent and social organization do not change abruptly from a matrilineal to a patrilineal emphasis as one moves from Melanesian to Papuan areas. In both western New Britain and the Admiralty Islands, for instance, descent may be reckoned bilaterally rather than unilinearly. People in these areas place less stress on the small, localized kin groups than on tribes possessing strict matrilineal sib organization.

On the Northeast New Guinea coast and its off-lying islands variations appear in the social systems which point to a mixture of matrilineal and patrilineal elements. In Bogadjim, for instance, descent is traced through the maternal line, yet in case of divorce children remain with the father. In the Madang district descent is reckoned bilaterally; children may be kept by one or the other divorced parent, according to factors other than the prevailing system of descent. Patrilineal descent is the rule in tribes near Aitape, and children always belong to the father.¹²⁴

¹²¹ H. Powdermaker, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

¹²² B. Blackwood, "Report on Field Work in Buka and Bougainville," *Oceania*, Vol. 2 (1931-32), p. 57.

¹²³ H. Thurnwald, "Woman's Status in Buin Society," *Oceania*, Vol. 5 (1934-35), pp. 168-9; R. Thurnwald, "Im Bismarckarchipel und auf den Salomoinseln, 1906-1909," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, Vol. 42 (1910), pp. 124-5.

¹²⁴ R. Thurnwald, "Papuanisches und Melanesisches Gebiet . . ." pp. 606-7.

Wogeo Island society likewise exhibits what appears to be the results of fusion between peoples who formerly recognized different types of descent. Two, and sometimes three, exogamous sibs are found in each village here. Each sib has its own headman, and descent is reckoned in the male line. Quite apart from the sib system, however, are two matrilineal moieties named after the Bat and the Hawk. This latter system forms a framework for the regulation of important reciprocal obligations, mainly of a ceremonial kind. Despite the special importance of avuncular relationship and the matrilineal tendency in ceremonial affairs, these societies are predominantly patrilineal in sentiment.¹²⁵

Probably the most complex system of social relations in New Guinea is reported for the Banaro of the Keram River. Here the system of reckoning descent and kinship diverges to a marked degree from the fairly straightforward methods of other tribes. Thurnwald calls the primary groupings "gentes"; they are exogamous groups, each dwelling on land of its own and possessing its own "goblin hall" or ceremonial house. The tribe is composed of several gentes inhabiting special hamlets. A complicating factor is the division of each gens into halves which co-operate in initiatory and nuptial ceremonies. Since the biological and sociological family group are based on different conceptualizations, descent is reckoned according to a combination of male and female influences.¹²⁶ The Mundugumor, who dwell on the Yuat River not far from the Banaro, are not unlike the latter in the form of their village organization. Descent, however, is based on the concept of kinship groupings called "ropes," in Melanesian pidgin. These are sex-linked lineages.¹²⁷

Among the Iatmul, Kwoma, and other mainland tribes, patrilineally organized sibs form the basis of the entire social structure. Nevertheless, the mother's brother-sister's son relationship, so vital in matrilineal societies, is functionally important. This emerges clearly among the Iatmul in the whole cycle of *naven* ceremonies through which growing individuals acquire status.¹²⁸ It must also be noted that in this region the rather vaguely defined totemism of the Melanesian area is represented by an analogous system of beliefs and practices centering around totem-objects pertaining to the sibs.

¹²⁵ H. I. Hogbin, "Native Culture of Wogeo," *Oceania*, Vol. 5 (1934-35), pp. 314-18.

¹²⁶ R. Thurnwald, *Banaro Society*, pp. 253-90.

¹²⁷ M. Mead, *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies*, p. 176.

¹²⁸ See G. Bateson, *Naven*, Chapter II and *passim*.

New Guinea societies need no aphorisms to glorify marriage as an honorable estate; the union of man and wife, or wives, is to them the only possible adjustment to the problems of bi-sexuality, rearing of children, and economic security. Thus, in general, no one remains unmarried, although the choice of possible mates, the methods of betrothal, the relations of the married pair, the frequency of divorce, and the care of children show numerous variations. Theoretically, marriage in New Guinea is polygynous; that is, all societies permit a man more than one wife. In actual practice, however, the restricted number of available women limits the possibility of multiple marriage. In the Duke of York Group, for instance, out of a total of 663 married men, 600 had one wife, fifty-seven had two wives, five had three, and one had four.¹²⁹ Isolated instances of polyandrous unions have been reported, but they are rare.¹³⁰

Aboriginal marriage forms follow a few well defined patterns. While one type may predominate locally, usually there is a choice among three: first, marriage arranged by the parents of infants or young children; second, exchange marriage of adolescents, also arranged by parents or close relatives of the parental generation; and third, elopement of the marrying pair, acting on their own initiative. The last-named form has sometimes been referred to as "capture marriage," but although the families of the principals may vent anger in a brawl, ordinarily this is simply the first step toward an amicable settlement.¹³¹

While some groups require premarital chastity, others condone very loose sexual relations among the unmarried. Invariably, however, some property—shell money, dog's teeth, foodstuffs, bags, and pigs—must change hands between the families of the contracting parties in order to establish the legality of a permanent union. The goods vary widely in amount and kind, but "payment" for the bride is universal. Return gifts, by the parents of the bride to those of the groom, are not at all uncommon, although ordinarily much smaller in size and amount. This token payment gives the lie to the conception of the wife as a "bought"

¹²⁹ H. Schnee, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

¹³⁰ R. Parkinson, *Dreissig Jahre in der Südsee*, p. 442; H. Powdermaker, *op. cit.*, pp. 226-7.

¹³¹ At first glance, Arapesh warfare, which is organized for the sole purpose of stealing women from a neighboring community, would seem to be a real instance of marriage by capture. Close study of the facts, however, demonstrates that the "capture" itself is always arranged by an *agent provocateur* and takes place with the woman's full consent. (See R. Fortune, "Arapesh Warfare," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 41 (1939), p. 28.)

chattel. Rather does the man's party contract for a cook, wood- and water-carrier, and child-rearer. While she is generally subservient to her husband's authority in the household, in every society she has certain sanctioned justifications for divorce. It is thus a fact that economic considerations play an important part in both Melanesian and Papuan marriages. The relative material poverty of the Papuans is no indication of lack of interest in worldly goods. When the Kwoma, for instance, are questioned as to why marriage is taboo between members of the same sib, they answer that in such a case there would be no exchange of shell money. While this may be a rationalization of some deeper-lying antipathy toward in-group marriage, it is significant that an economic interpretation is the first offered.

Throughout New Guinea childbirth is regarded as a dangerous event, not physiologically, for parturition is viewed as a normal process, but because of the supernatural elements involved. Consequently, the beliefs and practices surrounding birth include many elements which appear irrational. Taboos on the food of the pregnant woman and on many of the father's ordinary occupations, seclusion during parturition in special birth huts, and careful disposal of the afterbirth, are all indicative of the critical nature of childbirth. Following the notion that such a crisis period tempts malignant supernatural agencies to interfere with the normal course of events, the natives interpose certain safeguards. The very high rate of infant and post-natal mortality reinforces their belief in the necessity for elaborate precautions.

Childhood is the trial period of preparation for full participation in adult life. Until the onset of puberty, the child is cared for and instructed by the older members of his immediate family. At puberty the boy or girl is ready for the elaborate cycle of activities which inducts the individual into the social life of adults. These initiatory or puberty ceremonies, conducted by the village or community as a whole, are characterized by rigorous disciplinary measures and intensive training in tribal lore; all of the boys in most groups, and the girls in many, must submit to and participate in these formal rites of passage.¹³² The solemnities marking the initiation of boys are everywhere more elaborate than those for girls; many societies, in fact, simply segregate girls at the menarche, scarify

¹³² According to Father Ross, the Mogei of the Mt. Hagen district have no initiation ceremonies for either boys or girls. This is a notable exception to the general rule. (See "Ethnological Notes on Mt. Hagen Tribes," p. 361.)

them, and thus render them nubile without further ado. Boys, however, are generally assumed to stand in need of a new spirit, one free from the debilitating influence of association with women in childhood, and this demands a more complex ritual procedure.¹³³ In Lesu, for instance, initiation goes on for almost a year according to a very precise calendar of required activities.¹³⁴ Among the mainland tribes, on the other hand, less stress is laid on puberty itself as on marking a distinct break in the individual male's life; here rites of passage often begin while boys are very young and run on until they are fully mature. The *balum* cult of the Huon Peninsula, for instance, holds initiatory ceremonies at widely spaced intervals of time. Thus the age of a group of candidates for admission may range from four to twenty years.¹³⁵ The principal function of this cult is to admit the youth to full adult status. Segregation of novices, instruction by the elders, and certain food taboos are the distinctive elements of this complex. The boys are circumcised during their seclusion to signify their admission to membership in adult male society.¹³⁶

Disciplinary hazing of initiates occurs in virtually all societies, although the Nor-Papuan seem to have carried it to its highest development. Here the youth must submit to a beating after being stretched out on the wooden gongs; later he must run a gauntlet three times between the legs of the initiators who strike him with wooden clubs studded with sharks' teeth. He also receives instruction in adult male practices, such as blowing the sacred flutes and cutting the penis with sharp grass for ceremonial blood-letting.¹³⁷

As for the function of initiation, it is obvious that the larger ceremonies demand lengthy preparation and generous provision of food and goods; in this way they act as a direct stimulus to economic activity. They are also regarded as necessary pre-conditions to marriage; and, in all societies, they are fraught with deep religious significance for the entire community. Finally, new social relationships between members of the

¹³³ R. Thurnwald, "Papuanisches und Melanesisches Gebiet . . ." pp. 581-3.

¹³⁴ H. Powdermaker, *op. cit.*, pp. 102-39.

¹³⁵ R. Neuhauss, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, pp. 296-8.

¹³⁶ S. Lehner, "The Balum Cult of the Bukaua of Huon Peninsula," *Oceania*, Vol. 5 (1934-35), pp. 338-45.

Circumcision connected with initiation is found in several tribes along the coast of Northeast New Guinea, in Buka and Bougainville, and in St. Matthias. It does not occur among tribes in the interior of the mainland.

¹³⁷ J. Schmidt, "Die Ethnographie der Nor-Papua," *Anthropos*, Vol. 21 (1926), pp. 49-53. Ceremonial incision of the penis is also practiced by the Wogeo Islanders and the Kwoma.

same initiatory group are often created and have direct bearing on the economic and social behavior of these individuals and their families.

Seniority, recognized in all cultures, is of particular importance among the mainland tribes, and many initiation ceremonies are organized on the basis of culturally defined age grades. While not so complex as the multiple-graded *sukwe* societies of the Banks and New Hebrides Islands, their significance and function are similar. One enters adulthood by a series of easy, successive stages. Social maturity itself is not defined by a single age category in the native mind, for there are suggestive, as yet unexplored, meanings connected with the numerous native terms for "old man" or "older person." Age and status in the community are controlled by factors which cannot be calculated in numerical terms, but which involve the general pattern of group life.

The natives of New Guinea refuse to accept with equanimity the inevitability of death. Sickness and death are not generally recognized as mere biological processes, but are attributed to malignant spirits or to hostile men. Belief in sorcery is extremely strong and widespread, and has created one of the knottiest problems facing the European administration.

A lesser problem, but one related to that of hygienic control, is connected with the disposal of the corpse. Forms of burial vary widely, but certain uniform methods prevail within specific areas. Interment, for instance—whether temporary or permanent—occurs among some tribes in all sections of the Territory from Bougainville to Mt. Hagen. Cremation and sea burial are limited to the eastern fringes of the island area, New Ireland and the northern Solomons. Platform burial is practiced on the Gazelle Peninsula and among the Kwoma. The latter remove the skeleton after about ten months and distribute certain bones among living relatives of the deceased. The remnants are buried under the house porch. The practice of saving some of the bones or the skull is common; the Iatmul reach their peak of artistic expression in the portrait skulls of deceased relations. The people of the Wahgi and Purari valleys also keep and revere the skulls of their dead. Interment under, or in the close vicinity of, the dwelling occurs in many localities. A variant form of house burial is that in which the corpse is wrapped in mats or bark and hung under the eaves. This is reported for the Manus, the Bukaua and Jabim, the Arup (of Aitape), and for the horde communities of the Hauser River. In Bukaua, Jabim, and Arup, bamboo conduits drain off

the fluids of decomposition, which are mixed with sago meal and eaten. This form of endo-cannibalism is supposed to preserve within the community the qualities of strength and courage displayed by the deceased in his lifetime.¹³⁸

No mere listing of the various modes of burial in New Guinea can convey an adequate picture of the affective social milieu in which these forms are carried out. A death always precipitates a crisis in communal life which may be dissipated only by proper observance of many specific practices and taboos. Following a sudden series of unexpected deaths among the Kwoma, for instance, great agitation arose over the question of sorcery. Ordinarily these people do not suffer excessive anxiety in this regard, but when several deaths occurred among people apparently in good health, fear of sorcery suddenly burgeoned until no one considered himself safe. The elaborateness of the ceremonies of burial and mourning reflect the prestige of the deceased and the group to which he belonged. In many instances, the solemnities symbolize the continuing relationship between the living and the dead.

Consanguinity and affinity are not the only schematic ties which hold together larger or smaller social groups. In many parts of New Guinea, particularly in the Melanesian area, formal secret societies function as group agencies of leadership and social control. The most famous of these is the *Duk Duk* of the coastal villages on the Gazelle Peninsula.¹³⁹ This society takes its name from the spirit impersonated by masked dancers at the periodic ceremonies when the *Duk Duk* is supposed to put in his earthly appearance. The dancers are permitted to demand tribute in shell money from women and non-members; refusal, it is said, brings death. Cult members can also inflict severe punishment, even death, on those non-members who inadvertently or by design witness any of the esoteric preparatory rites. To join this society is a costly procedure, but it is a sound investment. Similar secret societies are found in the interior of the Gazelle Peninsula and in other parts of the Bismarck Archipelago.

The Nor-Papuans of the Sepik River delta have not only a male secret society, but also one for girls. The function of these female groups is

¹³⁸ R. Neuhauss, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 170-1.

¹³⁹ According to Parkinson, the *Duk Duk* (pronounced "ndook ndook") acquired its distinctive form only within the last hundred years. He traces its historical spread among Blanche Bay peoples with some care. Many of his older informants could remember its initial appearance in their own communities. (See *Dreissig Jahre in der Südsee*, pp. 578-80.)

not clear, but the admission fee is so high that only a limited number of families can afford it. On the coast west of the Nor-Papuans the villages have ceremonial houses for women as well as for men.

The *noḵwi* cult of the Kṵwoma also recalls the Melanesian secret societies in many of its aspects. Its members are the acknowledged tribal leaders—the “big men”—who have slain enemies in battle and who are also the leaders in the arts of peace. This cult stands in close relationship with certain female spirits which are represented by large wooden figures set up in a fenced enclosure where the *noḵwi* ceremonies are held. Women and non-members are not allowed to approach the ritual ground during the celebration. Although they are informed that the sounds of gongs and flutes which issue from the meetings are made by spirits, in reality they are well aware of their human origin.

The structure, function, and significance of secret societies in New Guinea are not easily summed up in a series of neat generalizations. These ceremonial societies form so integral a part of the cultural configurations that it is difficult to isolate them as discrete phenomena. Furthermore, their esoteric nature has prevented all but a few European observers from witnessing their meetings; consequently most of our knowledge comes at second hand. It can be said, however, that secret societies and cults are generally composed of a great majority of the adult males of the communities in which they occur. Indeed, in the Papuan tribes, the entire group of initiated men might be regarded as forming a secret society. Therefore, these institutional groupings are not to be conceived as subversive cults which seek to assume oligarchic powers; their concern lies rather with the general welfare of the whole community, although this is frequently interpreted as requiring intermittent terrorizing of women and children. The police power of these societies is not so directly apparent as, for instance, that of the military societies of the Plains Indians. Nevertheless, the ceremonies call periodic attention to supernatural sanctions which govern behavior. One of the obvious results of the existence of secret societies is that it gives added emphasis to the sharp dichotomy between the sexes. The existence of women's cults in the northern Sepik District does not qualify this conclusion.

CEREMONIAL LIFE AND THE SUPERNATURAL

Religion, more than any other aspect of primitive life, seems to defy topical treatment, for it intrudes to a greater or less degree in all departments of culture.¹⁴⁰ Whether or not calling religion the "cement of the social fabric" is apt metaphor, the fact remains that ideas about the supernatural and the resultant practices are manifest and significant in all spheres of primitive life.

Every region of New Guinea—one might almost say every village—has its own peculiarities of religious belief and expression. The apparent heterogeneity, however, lies more in external features than in basic concepts and patterns of behavior. Throughout this vast area certain nuclear ideas and practices give evidence of an underlying similarity of thought and feeling. Furthermore, the cultural extremes evident in other spheres of Papuan and Melanesian life are nowhere so clearly marked in the religious realm.

Whenever a New Guinea community as a whole participates in any event, some elements of a religious nature appear. Whether the ceremonies are brief, or continue intermittently for months, there is always in them some expression of the people's association with what we call supernatural powers. The feasting, singing, and dancing in themselves give many evidences of this spiritual quota. In Sepik River villages, for instance, pork is a quasi-ritual food, never eaten without certain formal observances and taboos; the songs sung at festivals and funerals are replete with mention of the spirits of departed ancestors and relatives; and dancing often serves the express magical purpose of inducing rain so as to insure an abundant harvest.

Tribal ceremonies of all kinds have, of course, a definite recreational aspect which one cannot fail to note. This appears not only in the heightened tempo of life during preparations for religious festivals, but also in the joyous celebration of the ceremonies themselves. The European observer is often struck by a seeming lack of reverence—a *lèse divinité*, as it were—in dances which appear to him mundane, if not "obscene." Nevertheless, although the patterns of deference and respect may assume

¹⁴⁰ Thurnwald, in his monumental *Die Menschliche Gesellschaft*, devotes entire volumes to the topics of the family, economics, political organization, and law, but he has no separate volume for religion. He treats the religious aspects of these major configurations as they present themselves. While there has been some criticism of this method as one which fails to do full justice to the subject, it is significant that a sociologist of Thurnwald's caliber has adopted such a form of presentation.

forms different from those prevailing in our own society, their importance is clear to the people themselves.

We have already mentioned in passing several of the occasions for group participation in ritual or religious undertakings. Some of these, such as planting and harvest rites, are seasonal; others may be annual, and have to do with the periodic earthly visits of important tribal spirits; still others—initiation, for instance—may take place at irregular intervals from two to five years apart. All such events, however, follow a more or less definite “calendar.” In addition to these regular and cyclical events and undertakings, funerals and rituals marking the manufacture and launching of a large canoe or the completion of a men’s house may take place at any time, and they never are lacking in religious significance.

The most impressive ceremonies, to natives and European observers alike, are those which are most purely religious in purpose. The masked dances performed by members of secret societies and men’s cults are outstanding in this respect, for both Melanesian and Papuan societies periodically dramatize the supposed return of their tutelary deities. The masked cult members chosen to represent these supernatural beings make sudden entrance into the villages in a blaze of sound and costume to inaugurate the cycle of festive events. Women and the uninitiated are endangered by proximity to these spirits and are required to remain either in seclusion or at a safe distance from the main dance ground.

The Duk Duk of Blanche Bay, while better known than most other secret societies of the Territory, may be matched in many of its features among the men’s cults of the mainland tribes. In both instances, the return of some great spirit particularly identified with the fortunes of the community as a whole is carefully pantomimed. The *balum* cult of the Bukaua on Huon Gulf, and similar cycles of activities at Awar (near the mouth of the Ramu River) and in villages on the southern tributaries of the Sepik, are not unlike the Duk Duk in form and function.¹⁴¹ The masks worn by the dancers, and the spirits they represent, show considerable variation, but the details are less important than the total configuration.

As a rule, the vaguely defined totemism of New Guinea tribes has religious as well as social implications. Totem animals are depicted in carved dance-objects, balsa hair ornaments, and ceremonial house decorations, and their peculiar gaits and habits are frequently portrayed in

¹⁴¹ H. I. Hogbin, “Native Culture of Wogeo,” *Oceania*, Vol. 5 (1934-35), pp. 314-18.

dancing. Crocodiles, pigs, cockatoos, and sharks furnish common motifs for pictorial and dramatic exhibitions. Furthermore, the sacred musical instruments—flutes, pan-pipes, bull-roarers, water-drums, and the like—produce sounds which, the uninitiated are told, come from the spirits of the cult or tribe.

The actual religious systems, far from being models of logical consistency, are founded on a patchwork of variegated beliefs. Two general types of supernatural beings, however, are common among all tribes. The line between these two classes is not always clearly defined, but, in general, we may call them ghosts of the dead (*tambaran* in Melanesian pidgin) and spirits that were never human (*marsalai*). These two have complementary functions, and are found in every culture so far reported. The belief that spirits of the dead influence the destinies of the living is loosely termed ancestor worship. Worship, in the strict sense, however, is hardly the precise term to use, for the ghosts stand in a reciprocal relationship to the living, and can be brought under obligation to aid and assist them in all their undertakings.

The Manus people offer one of the most completely reported cases of ancestor worship in the Territory.¹⁴² The spirits of the deceased male members of a lineage become its guardians and protectors. Their skulls are kept as fetish objects in shallow bowls in the house. But if any disaster occurs which the people believe a particular ghost might have prevented, his skull is cast out with no compunction, and a newer one elevated to its place. Unforeseen events happen so frequently that the ruling guardian spirits are almost always ghosts of the recently deceased.

Throughout New Guinea, the living have ambivalent attitudes toward the spirits of the dead. They may be alternately invoked (as on the occasion of planting) or condemned (in cases of unexpected trouble). Ghosts appear to the living in dreams, and the mental condition and immediate problems of the dreamer at the time determine the interpretation put upon the ghostly visit. Two Kwoma youths, for instance, reported that they had dreamed of deceased relatives on the same night. One of them, sick at the time, was convinced that the dream-visitation foretold his own end. The other, however, received guidance from his ancestral ghost in making an important decision.

The spirits of the deceased ordinarily possess the qualities with which they were endowed while living, although these are somewhat magni-

¹⁴² R. Fortune, *Manus Religion*, pp. 9-59.

fied. Ghosts are neither ubiquitous nor omniscient, however; and although they may abhor the breaking of taboos, they are easily mollified by sacrifices of food. No ancestral spirit takes lasting precedence over any other, for each has as many competitors as there are lineages in the community; and the memories of New Guinea natives are extremely short.

In contrast to *tambaran*, which are neither excessively exacting nor dangerous, the natives also believe in the class of spirits called *marsalai*, which are of a more malignant nature. These tree-spirits, rock-spirits, and *Waldgeister* are thought to inhabit strange spots which are shunned by natives. The people show a fertile imagination in the manifold shapes and sizes with which they endow these supernatural creatures; they are variously conceived to be dwarfs, giants, hairy men with a single eye, loathsome figures with fiery red buttocks, people with tails, and enormous serpents. Avoidance is practically the only method by which the dangers of the *marsalai* can be circumvented. Consequently, gardens are not planted near strange outcroppings of rock or similar "unnatural" objects in the landscape. When passing caves or declivities where such spirits are supposed to dwell, the native walks softly and does not talk. Above all, he refrains from whistling, for this is thought to be the easiest way of arousing the curiosity of the spirits. Finally, since these beings are fonder of darkness than daylight, people rarely venture outside their houses after sunset, except on brightly moonlit nights. Much dancing, it is true, takes place at nocturnal meetings, but the participants and onlookers stay in a group close to the ceremonial house or dance ground. Lighted torches of fronds or reeds keep away evilly inclined spirits. In St. Matthias it is believed that spirits which fail to regain their hiding places with the dawn's approach are turned to stone.¹⁴³

While *marsalai* are commonly thought to dwell in certain natural objects and to control only a certain limited locality, ghosts of the dead are believed to inhabit a nebulous afterworld of their own. The Western Islanders conceive of this as a submarine region situated under the reefs which surround their islands; New Ireland people think of the *gas*, or spirit-double, as remaining close to the clan lands on which the person dwelt during life; and the coastal Melanesians locate the afterworld beyond the horizon, but not too far off to prevent occasional return visits.¹⁴⁴ Reports indicate that the people of the interior of Northeast New

¹⁴³ H. Nevermann, *St. Matthias-Gruppe*, p. 158.

¹⁴⁴ R. Parkinson, *Dreissig Jahre in der Südsee*, pp. 434-6; H. Powdermaker, *op. cit.*, p. 307.

Guinea are less concerned with constructing ideational worlds of the dead than are the island people; they think of ghosts as remaining close to their earthly homes and burial sites. The Kwoma, for instance, regard certain mountain tops in their vicinity as the dwelling places of their named ancestors. These are said to "belong to" the ghosts.

No discussion of religious phenomena in New Guinea would be complete without special reference to magic and sorcery. The distinction between religion and magic is, of course, hard to make, since both are aspects of adjustment to a world which is never completely understood nor amenable to control. If, however, a distinction is to be made, it must be based upon the native's own view of the matter. Thus we find religious observances involving the general welfare of the entire community, whether it be tribe or village. In this sense "white," or benevolent, magic is religious, for its aim is the general good. It includes practices designed to control the weather, to insure success in hunting and fishing, to stimulate garden growth, and to guarantee ascendancy over enemies in war. The rites and spells manifested in these practices are by nature exoteric, even though their proper performance is entrusted to the older men, or, more rarely, to outstanding women.

Malevolent "black" magic, or sorcery, on the other hand, is exceedingly esoteric and individualistic in character. It may be directed against members of a person's own community and thus menace the solidarity of the regular cult. Whereas white magic exerts a centripetal force on the life of the community, favoring *esprit de corps*, sorcery creates fear and distrust. If a man believed able to cause death turns his skills on victims in other tribes, there may be no more than general uneasiness in his group. But if he is thought by members of his village to be practising sorcery on them, for pay or on his own initiative, he becomes a menace to in-group harmony and may be hunted out and killed.

The basis of this exceedingly potent belief in sorcery is the general notion that sickness and death—except among the very aged—are not the result of natural processes. By *post hoc* reasoning the vast majority of ailments and deaths are attributed to the machinations of some one, or his agent, who controls extraordinary powers. In a few New Guinea tribes—Manus is an instance—sorcery is less feared, but in most districts, mainland and insular, it is an ever-recurrent concern of the people.

The natives themselves fully realize the extra-cult nature of sorcery, although they may be powerless to discover who the sorcerer is. More-

over, even if they do suspect a person, they may hesitate to move against him for fear of vengeance. The sorcerer's movements are always veiled in semi-secrecy, and the native who falls ill ordinarily learns only by indirection, if he does not make the interpretation himself, that he is being subjected to sorcery. Unless the magician can be discovered and bought off, or some means of counter-magic employed, the victim is believed doomed. Failure to discover a sorcerer does not prove that none exists; it is simply taken to mean that he is so clever that detection is impossible.

Because of its secrecy, and also because of the disfavor with which it is viewed by administrators, the actual practice of sorcery has been reported in detail for few tribes. The general outlines of the pattern, however, are well known. Sorcery which aims to destroy life or property rests upon a belief in contagious magic, that is, the idea that objects which have been in intimate contact with a person continue to hold some of that individual's life-force or essence. Bits of exuviae—hair, perspiration, excreta, blood—are proper materials for black magic. Clothing and ornaments which have been in contact with the body, and food scraps, may also be used, although they are not so potent. The mere possession of such materials does not in itself give one power over the person from whom they have been taken. The articles must be subjected to special treatment by a magician thoroughly conversant with the proper rites and spells. Sorcerers, usually men past the prime of life, either inherit or purchase the requisite knowledge. A person who is not himself a sorcerer but wishes to cause harm to another seeks out a magician, provides him with sorcery material from the intended victim, and pays a fee to have the spell cast. The operator may not even know who his victim is, but this is not thought to interfere with the efficacy of the practice. In consonance with the dangers, supernatural as well as social, he faces, the sorcerer usually undergoes self-imposed taboos and does his work in some secret spot deep in the bush. The rites consist of burning, boiling, hiding, or otherwise disposing of the sorcery material to the accompaniment of recited charms and spells. Thereupon the victim is supposed to begin to sicken and die.

A type of sorcery known as *sanguma* occurs along the coast of the Sepik District and in the Schouten Islands. Although it can exist only in the minds of the people, it testifies to the lengths to which this system of ideas may be carried. The sorcerer and his assistants are supposed to seize their victim, render him unconscious by supernatural means, and,

while he is in that state, insert a magical bone dagger under his ribs which subsequently brings about his death.¹⁴⁵

SUMMARY

In concluding this abridged survey of aboriginal New Guinea cultures, we may summarize briefly their principal characteristics. It is possible to dispense at once with the attempt to distinguish between Melanesians and Papuans, for their many common institutions testify to a single prevailing ethos shared by all the tribes in the area. Different groups, it is true, place varying emphases on particular aspects of social life, but certain common elements are so widely shared that we are justified in speaking of a general uniformity of cultural tradition.

In their subsistence economy and material culture, for example, we find that the great majority of natives in New Guinea are horticulturists practicing shifting cultivation, and that their manufacture represents the neolithic stage of material adaptation to physical environment. The basic principle governing distribution of goods and wealth within the tribe is reciprocity, ruled by the dictates of traditional kinship behavior. Inter-tribal trade, also reciprocal in nature, appears as an adaptation to the existence of localized industries and to the virtual absence of complete self-sufficiency in any group or village. Reciprocity is, of course, carried into spheres which transcend the purely economic: it is manifest in the embryonic political relations within the tribe, and also in the relations of the living to the dead.

In what are loosely called the social aspects of New Guinea cultures, we may point to the solidarity of the family unit as a basic characteristic of New Guinea life. The larger kinship groupings, sibs and lineages, are not so rigidly defined. On the contrary, what might be termed "sib fluidity," the ceaseless splitting-up and re-amalgamation of kin groups, is an endless process. The underlying motivation, however, always aims toward increased security through either enlargement or better articulation of groups claiming common descent.

We note also a proliferation of ethnocentric social units whose fragmented political character is maintained through extreme linguistic diversity and narrow margins of sovereignty over their autonomous components. These are the principal barriers impeding the formation of larger, culturally integrated groupings.

¹⁴⁵ H. I. Hogbin, "Native Culture of Wogeo," *Oceania*, Vol. 5 (1934-35), pp. 326-8.

In most of the societies, moreover, there is a notable absence of class and caste stratification. This results in a condition of pre-democratic equalitarianism, in which individual ability is of more moment than hereditary office or line of descent. We see also that the traditional equalitarian norms militate against a person's rising—in wealth, in religious powers, or in political authority—much above the general status level.

The absence of rigid systems of class is partially compensated for by the sharp dichotomy in social life between the sexes. In economic activities women play roles which are complementary to those of men, but the latter allow them small voice in the conduct of political or ceremonial affairs.

It is furthermore apparent that while warfare is a function of all New Guinea societies, it may be undertaken for different purposes, to which divergent values attach. Some groups wage war for slaves or women, others to win trophy heads, still others to avenge real or fancied insults. Constant factors are the basic ideas of reciprocity, and revenge.

In the religious sphere, belief in the reality of ghosts and animistic spirits is the fountainhead of all tribally sanctioned cult activities. Magic, which at times may parallel the cult of the in-group and be used to bolster it, may also be employed by shrewd individuals for selfish, even anti-social, ends. This "anti-religion" serves, with other isolating and disruptive forces, to impede peaceful contact and cultural integration of larger groups.

Under the impact of European civilization, New Guinea natives have perforce surrendered the control and development of much of their own cultural equipment. The juxtaposition of an age of steel with one of stone and bamboo has not brought about the collapse of the aboriginal society, but it has caused a revolutionary shift in the course of its evolution. We shall never know what might have happened to these people and their culture had they remained undisturbed, but knowing what they were and how they have come to be what they are may give us some glimpses into the nature of cultural processes, particularly in areas where groups of widely diverse traditions have come together.

CHAPTER II

THE DEVELOPMENT OF EUROPEAN CONTROL

The fact that the entire island of New Guinea, like many large sections of tropical Africa, was one of the last extensive areas of the world to be opened up by white enterprise and taken over by European governments tends to obscure the real antiquity of its actual discovery. But in view of the poverty of both the land and its peoples, which has prevailed time out of mind, it is understandable that despite the centuries-long knowledge of its existence European exploitation and settlement of this region should be so recent a development.¹

In surveying the whole history of the development of European control in and over New Guinea, one is led to conclude that the nationality and cultural heritage of the Europeans who discovered, explored, and eventually partitioned New Guinea have not been primary determinants in the process; for, Dutch, German, and British aims and adjustments have had much in common. Of greater moment is the fact that organized control has been inaugurated during a period when the behavior and attitudes of Europeans toward simpler peoples everywhere have changed considerably from what they were only a century or so ago. The forces at work shaping modern New Guinea society root far back in history, but their most significant expression has appeared only during this relatively brief period of recent contact. The establishment of European hegemony, however, can only be understood in the light of New Guinea's relations with the Western world from their earliest incidence.

Columbus' epochal western voyages had been matters of history for less than a generation when the island now known as New Guinea was first

¹In describing European aims, interests, and activities in this volume as "exploitative," I am using that term and its cognates in the original sense of *utilization*, without implied preachments as to their moral justification.

viewed from the decks of European vessels.² However, during the four and one-half centuries following these initial discoveries, the American continents became homelands of great nations, while New Guinea, with the exception of its coasts and smaller satellite islands, remained by and large an unknown country inhabited by primitive tribes of very simple culture. New Guinea's isolation, its enervating climate, and its lack of immediately realizable commercial opportunities were critical factors of sufficient moment to turn the tides of European expansion toward more favorable shores.

Despite the fact that whites were not to occupy the island of New Guinea until the latter part of the nineteenth century, a sizeable body of information concerning the general aspects of its coasts and off-lying islands was not slow in taking shape. The earliest descriptions, however, are notable both for their brevity and their lack of serious interest in the country; a passing comment on the "savages," and, at times, a perfunctory flag-raising in the name of their respective sovereigns ordinarily sufficed for the first-comers. When the land was claimed, it was done grandiloquently and all-inclusively, no matter how much or little of it had actually been seen. Centuries were to pass before different national interests in contiguous coastal sections of the island created any need for territorial boundaries. Only subsequent to the partitioning of the island among the European powers did the work of discovery and exploration enter a new, nationalistic, period. With respect to European activities and aspirations in New Guinea, therefore, there may be distinguished two principal phases in the long history of the opening up of the land: (1) 1512-1884—Discovery and Exploration by Chartered Companies and Private Enterprises; and (2) 1884 to the Present—Exploration and Consolidation by or under the control of the State.

The first of the above periods, by far the longer in point of time, was characterized by both chance visits and purposeful voyages of discovery on the part of Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, English, and French navigators. Seldom did these men disembark from their vessels, and rarely did they penetrate more than a few miles inland from the coasts. None of the countries from which these adventurers came evinced any organized

² Much can be said, but little proved, concerning possible visits to New Guinea by Arabs, Malays, and Asiatics in the centuries before European discovery. In his great *Entdeckungsgeschichte von Neu-Guinea*, Dr. Arthur Wichmann summarizes the literary materials relating to possible connections with both Asia and the Ancient World. (See Vol. I, pp. 1-8.)

imperial interest in the colonial possibilities of the country until the close of the era. The second period, ushered in by German annexation and the creation of her South Sea protectorate, has been marked by subsidized scientific exploration, not only along the coasts but also in the interior of the country. This latter period is not yet over, but the end—at least so far as exploration is concerned—is now in sight. Less than fifteen per cent of the land area of the Mandated Territory still remains to be explored.³

DISCOVERY AND EXPLORATION TO 1884

The commercial rivalry of Spaniards and Portuguese for trade with the Spice Islands was the original impetus which led to the discovery of the island of New Guinea. With ships of both nations plying the Sunda Seas in search of trade and booty, it was fore-ordained that the island be discovered. Although the Portuguese navigator, Antonio d'Abreu, was probably the first to sight the land (in 1512), the Spanish governor of the Moluccas, Jorge de Menezes, is more frequently credited with its discovery. The latter, while seeking a new route from the Malay Archipelago to the eastern Spice Islands in 1526-27 came upon the western end of a great land mass to which he gave the name "Ilhas dos Papuas."⁴

By the Treaty of Tordesillas (1494), Portugal and Spain had agreed to partition all newly discovered land east and west respectively of the imaginary line drawn by Pope Alexander VI one hundred leagues west of the Azores. Thus it was that the Spaniards, on gaining the Pacific, continued westward in search of the Indies while the Portuguese sought those fabled isles by rounding Africa and sailing east. It is understandable, then, that the island of New Guinea, lying not far to the south of the possible courses between the Indies and Mexico and Peru, should become better known to Spanish than to Portuguese navigators. During the remainder of the sixteenth century many Spanish ships coasted the shores of northern New Guinea and visited some of the off-lying islands. Outstanding among these voyages for the knowledge gained of the country were those of Ynigo Ortez de Retes in 1545 and Luis Vaez de

³ Similarly, the Territory of Papua and Dutch New Guinea each have approximately 15 per cent of their area remaining untraversed and unmapped. All of that unexplored area lies in the central part of the island of New Guinea. (See C. C. Le Roux in *Nieuw Guinea* (W. Klein, ed.) Vol. I, p. 150.)

⁴ A. Wichmann, *Entdeckungsgeschichte von Neu-Guinea*, Vol. 1, pp. 9-12, 14-16. The name "Papua" probably derives from the Malay word *papuwā*, meaning frizzy-haired, and was first used to describe this characteristic of the natives' appearance.

Torres in 1606. De Retes, sailing from Tidore for Mexico, discovered islands off the west end of the "Ilhas dos Papuas" and then sailed eastward along the north coast of land which, from its resemblance to the West African Guinea coast, he called "Nueva Guinea." He disembarked on this shore and claimed it for the King of Spain. Continuing his voyage, he discovered many small islands off the coast of what is now Northeast New Guinea. He had many brushes with the natives whom he described as great fighters despite their simple weapons.⁵ Although Torres' discoveries were restricted to the eastern and southeastern shores of the island, in what is now the Territory of Papua, his passage through the strait which bears his name proved that New Guinea was an island.⁶

The collapse of the Spanish sea power at the close of the sixteenth century left the trade with the Indies in the capable hands of the Dutch. In the same year of Torres' great voyage, William Jansz, by his exploration of the west and southwest coasts of New Guinea, was opening a century of Dutch exploration which was to add greatly to the knowledge of the island.⁷ Although the majority of the Netherlanders' visits were made along the western shores—regions now included in their present territory—a few outstanding navigators discovered and charted some of the coasts and islands to the eastward. Indeed, some of the most brilliant cartographic work of this century rested upon the discoveries of Jacques Le Maire and Willem Corneliz Schouten in 1606. Approaching New Guinea from the east they first raised Nissan Island, then coasted eastern New Ireland, passing through the Tabar Group. Also seen were New Hanover, St. Matthias, the "Twenty-five Islands," as they called the Admiralty Group, and Manam. They then proceeded westward along the coast of Northeast New Guinea.⁸

⁵ A. Wichmann, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 23-30. De Retes' name for the great island was adopted by Mercator on his world map of 1569.

⁶ A. Wichmann, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 39-49; H. Blum, *Neu-Guinea und der Bismarckarchipel*, p. 2. This discovery bore no immediate fruit, however, for the documents and log-books of Torres and his companion, Diego de Prado, remained unknown until the eighteenth century. Alexander Dalrymple, a former servant of the East India Company, unearthed the manuscripts relating to Torres' passage which proved the insularity of New Guinea. This evidence led directly to Cook's rediscovery of the Strait in 1770 (See J. A. Williamson, "The Exploration of the Pacific," in *The Cambridge History of the British Empire*, Vol. VII, Part I, pp. 37, 47, 50.)

⁷ A. Wichmann, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 50-1; E. R. Stanley, "Report on the Salient Geological Features and Natural Resources of the New Guinea Territory," Appendix B of *Report to the Council of the League of Nations* (1923), p. 8.

⁸ A. Wichmann, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 58-71; H. Blum, *Neu-Guinea und der Bismarckarchipel*, p. 2.

A voyage of exploration which has been called the greatest of the seventeenth century was that of Abel Jansz Tasman in 1643. This leader's most renowned discoveries were, of course, Tasmania and New Zealand, but he also touched the north coast of New Guinea and islands of the Bismarck Archipelago. By his surveys and reports on the agricultural and trading possibilities in this area he added greatly to our knowledge.⁹

The Spaniards had found neither gold nor spices in New Guinea, and while the Dutch made greater attempts to organize a profitable trade, they met with no great success. Consequently, European interest in New Guinea, as represented by the Dutch voyages, began to wane during the latter part of the seventeenth century. With the dawn of the eighteenth century, however, merchants and adventurers from a fourth nation, England, turned their eyes toward New Guinea. On New Year's Day of the year 1700, William Dampier, an ex-buccaneer and explorer engaged by the British Admiralty, entered New Guinea waters. From the "Vogelkop," the western extremity of the island, Dampier sailed his *Roebuck* eastward to "Squally" Island in the St. Matthias Group. Thence he cruised south along the east coast of what is now New Ireland and, rounding "Cape St. George" (southern New Ireland), turned westward. As he passed through the strait which bears his name he became aware that this portion of New Guinea on his starboard hand was actually a separate island, and to it he gave the name "Nova Britannia." What he did not know was that the land around which he had passed consisted in reality of two islands.¹⁰ It remained for another Englishman, Captain Philip Carteret, to discover, in 1767, that the "St. George's Bay" of Dampier was actually a channel separating Nova Britannia from a long narrow island to the east. Carteret, with a nice regard for analogy, named the latter Nova Hibernia, from which is derived its modern name of New Ireland. He also discovered and named the Duke of York Group and Winchelsea (Buka) Island, and corrected the positions of the Admiralty Group and some of the small western islands.¹¹

Carteret's expedition marks a turning point in the history of New Guinea exploration, for it was the first of a series of voyages whose object was the collection of scientific as well as commercial and cartographical

⁹ A. Wichmann, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 85-100; E. R. Stanley, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

¹⁰ A. Wichmann, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 127-37; J. A. Williamson, "The Exploration of the Pacific," in *The Cambridge History of the British Empire*, Vol. II, Part I, pp. 41-2; *Official Handbook of the Territory of New Guinea*, p. 17.

¹¹ A. Wichmann, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 193-200.

information. England, which closely guarded its findings as trade secrets, henceforth dropped to a place of secondary importance in the opening up of the islands. A series of state-sponsored expeditions during the next half-century gave in some detail the main configurations of the New Guinea coasts. The reports of these expeditions aroused more academic than commercial interest in the region, for the lowly condition of the native population held out little promise of any lucrative trading possibilities.

The fifth European nation to assume the lead in the exploration of the South Seas was France. Her navigators discovered few islands that had not been previously known, but by their more careful and extensive surveys of poorly charted islands and coasts they made permanent contributions to the common knowledge.¹² The ill-fated de Bougainville expedition opened the period of greatest French activity in New Guinea waters. In 1768, the year following Carteret's voyage, de Bougainville rediscovered the Solomon Islands—the "Tierra Australis del Espiritu Santo" of Quiros (1605)—the "loss" of which for a period of more than a century and a half constitutes one of the strangest chapters in the history of exploration.¹³ Bougainville and Buka Islands, as well as New Ireland, St. Matthias, and the atolls of Western Islands, were charted by members of this expedition.¹⁴ Other French navigators who followed de Bougainville in charting the coasts of Northeast New Guinea and the Bismarck Archipelago were: Antoine Joseph Raymond Bruni d'Entrecasteaux (1792), Louis Isidore Duperry (1823-24), and Jules Sebastian Cesar Dumont d'Urville (1872-28).¹⁵

The Spaniard de Retes, who in 1545 had claimed New Guinea for his king, was merely the first of many to make similar declarations for their respective sovereigns. In the second half of the seventeenth century, for example, the Dutch East India Company claimed a large part of the island of New Guinea for the Netherlands. These early excursions in empire-building had, however, no practical consequences in the first three centuries of New Guinea's recorded history. When Spain made no attempt

¹² The existence of two or even three European names for some of the islands and other geographical features testifies to the lack of coordination of the data collected by earlier explorers. Even when navigators were aware of former visits by men of other nations, they were moved by patriotic sentiments to affix names of their own choosing (*Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 334).

¹³ An excellent summary of the very extensive historical materials dealing with this interesting case may be found in H. I. Hogbin, *Experiments in Civilization*, pp. 4-10.

¹⁴ A. Wichmann, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 200-8.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 264-74; 310-13; 324-30.

to follow up her early claims, Holland's continuing though feebly developed interests in Western New Guinea made her the first European power in the field. Her suzerainty was not internationally recognized, however, until 1814; and even then the exact limits of her claim were not defined.¹⁶ In 1828 she claimed all of New Guinea west of the 141st meridian, or roughly one-half of the island.¹⁷ This move on the part of the Dutch did nothing to stimulate other nations toward either contesting her claims or taking up any of the land or islands to the east.

For four decades thereafter, the island of New Guinea, and particularly the area now included in the Mandated Territory, received scant attention from any seafarers or traders or representatives of any European government.¹⁸ Ships of many nations, especially those from the young British colonies in Australia, stopped along these shores to replenish their supplies of food and water; but they added little to a general knowledge of the country and did nothing to improve the relations between whites and natives.¹⁹ Few of the former, however, seem to have been men of much intellectual curiosity regarding the land or its people, for they have left us only the briefest of notes and accounts of their experiences.²⁰ Other newcomers to the South Pacific in the mid-nineteenth century and after were naval officers and their men of the several European powers. Warships came in ever-increasing numbers to do hydrographic work, to supervise the labor-trade, and to protect those of their nationals engaged in the expanding commerce with the South Sea natives.²¹ In all the long pre-governmental period, Germany was the last of the European nations to send ships and men to New Guinea. Furthermore, although a few German-owned firms had located factories in the islands of the

¹⁶ J. Tideman in *Nieuw Guinea*, (W. Klein, ed.) Vol. I, p. 15.

¹⁷ A. Wichmann, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Part 1, p. 1; H. Blum, *Neu-Guinea und der Bismarckarchipel*, p. 4.

¹⁸ Wichmann's comment is that during this period particularly the area of our special interest received ". . . eine sehr stiefmütterliche Behandlung." (*Op. cit.*, Vol. II, Part I, pp. 128-9).

¹⁹ From the beginnings of discovery in New Guinea, European navigators' accounts of their contacts with the natives are uniformly brief and bloody. Few recorded the establishment of any more peaceful relationship than an armed truce. It was most commonly reported that natives approached the European ships, suddenly discharged their spears or stones, and then, as the ships' muskets and cannon were brought into action, beat a sanguinary retreat. This seems to have been the course of events no matter where natives were met or who were the Europeans who met them.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, Part 1, pp. 22-3, 33.

²¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, Part 1, pp. 133, 155-6, 162-3, 208-11; A. Zimmerman, *Geschichte der Deutschen Kolonialpolitik*, p. 94.

Bismarck Archipelago during the 1870's, only three surveys of any importance were carried out by Germans prior to their annexation of the territory. These were the "Gazelle" expedition of 1875 and the two reconnoitering voyages of Otto Finsch, in 1880-1882 and 1884.²² How it happened that Germany came into possession of her New Guinea territories within so brief a period deserves special mention.

From the year 1857, which witnessed the founding of the Hamburg firm of J. G. Godeffroy and Son in Samoa, German economic penetration of the South Pacific had expanded steadily in all directions; and by 1870, German firms of merchants and traders dominated the commerce of the South Seas. Their activities during this period—"the first symptoms of an unorganized and unarticulated colonial policy"²³—carried the germs of imperial as well as purely commercial development far over the Pacific. But whereas in former centuries the state had often called into being colonial companies to undertake tasks the state itself could not perform, in the latter part of the nineteenth century this system was reversed as German companies called on the state for protection.²⁴ Voices had been raised proposing German annexation of eastern New Guinea as early as 1866 by Germans living in Australia, but serious agitation in the homeland on this score was not heard until 1880.²⁵ By the latter date, many small colonial societies and unions had been formed for the purpose of fostering German colonial interests overseas. In their beginnings these movements were unrelated and uncoordinated, but severally they turned out great quantities of propaganda in books of travel, in magazines and journals, and in sponsored addresses by explorers, publicists, and political scientists. The public was subjected to an intensive campaign designed to

²² A. Wichmann, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Part 1, pp. 208-11, 286-7, 352-9.

²³ Great Britain Foreign Office, Historical Section, No. 42, *German Colonization*, p. 74; M. E. Townsend, *The Rise and Fall of Germany's Colonial Empire*, p. 50. In the mother country, "with the advent of the Bismarckian era, the age-old deterrents to a national colonial policy—political disunion and economic weakness—were summarily removed. After the successive triumphs from 1866 to 1871, a united Germany overflowing with superabundant energy had emerged; and the intense nationalism and patriotism engendered by the Wars of Unification found a national outlet in an enthusiasm for expansion." (See M. E. Townsend, *op. cit.*, p. 55.)

²⁴ S. H. Roberts, *Population Problems of the Pacific*, p. 48; P. Decharme, *Compagnies et Sociétés Coloniales Allemandes*, p. 4; A. G. Keller, "The Colonial Policy of the Germans," *Yale Review* (February, 1902), p. 395. Keller states that "the trading companies . . . are subordinate organizations for a political purpose rather than essentially independent organizations for purely commercial gains."

²⁵ See, for example, "Deutsche Rufe von den Antipoden," *Petermann's Mitteilungen*, Vol. 15 (1869), pp. 401-5.

arouse a national demand for colonies. Appeals to patriotic sentiments helped to create greater interest throughout the nation and consolidated public opinion on the issue. This gave to the promoters of the several colonial schemes the necessary support, enabling them to bring pressure to bear on the German Government for outright annexation of unclaimed land in Africa and Oceania.²⁶

Many of these pressure groups were interested in the whole field of colonization—including theoretical problems of native administration; research possibilities for medicine and natural and social sciences; agricultural opportunities which would benefit the mother country; and a host of allied interests—but in 1880 a society composed of Berlin bankers and merchants, named *Die Deutsche Seehandelsgesellschaft*, was formed to undertake specifically the practical problem of colonization in New Guinea. A memorial outlining the plan was presented to Bismarck by its director, Adolph von Hanseemann, in the hope of obtaining imperial sanction; but the Chancellor would promise nothing beyond maritime protection and the establishment of consulates in the region. The previous failure of the Samoan Subsidy Bill to pass in the Reichstag was advanced as a reason for not annexing the land.²⁷ The German Government, lacking a powerful navy, seemed not yet ready to lend its sanction to colonizing projects; and the internal problem of consolidating the new German nation made Bismarck refrain from proposals of imperial expansion.²⁸

The promoters of colonial plans in Berlin, however, did not cease in their efforts following this initial rebuff. They sought and gained the approval and support of those German firms already doing business in New Guinea and marshalled many supports in the mother country. Von Hanseemann and Bleichröder promoted another consortium for the purpose of acquiring land in northeast New Guinea and the New Britain

²⁶ M. E. Townsend, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-6, 82-4. It is an impossible task to ascertain the exact role of public opinion in investing German colonial expansion with the concept of national destiny. It seems clear, however, that this ideal was not consciously inculcated by the government. (See P. Decharme, *op. cit.*, p. 26.)

²⁷ A. Wichmann, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Part 1, pp. 285-6; A. Zimmerman, *op. cit.*, Historical Section, No. 42, *German Colonisation*, p. 24; M. E. Townsend, *op. cit.*, pp. 76, 82-3.

²⁸ Bismarck played a decisive part in the creation of Germany's colonial empire, and yet the intricate course which he followed is far from clear. From his elevation to the Chancellorship in 1871 until five years after the establishment of a German overseas empire, he opposed the colonial idea and the fact of colonies. But he seems to have been singing his theme song—"Ich bin kein Kolonialmensch"—even while granting imperial sanction to the creation of chartered companies (see M. E. Townsend, *op. cit.*, Chap. III; Great Britain Foreign Office, Historical Section, No. 42, *German Colonization*, p. 19).

Group. Accordingly the Neu-Guinea Kompagnie was founded May 26, 1884, and Otto Finsch was immediately sent out as its agent to acquire land from the natives in these parts. On June 27, 1884, a note was addressed to the Chancellor advising him of the steps taken and requesting imperial protection for the prospective undertaking. Two months later an official reply was received to the effect that such sanction would be given by the Imperial Government.²⁹

But the course of events leading up to German annexation was not mapped out solely on green-topped tables in Berlin. The British, through the rising clamor of Australian colonists for all the unclaimed land in New Guinea, were also involved in the question; and in Australia, as in Germany, the pressure for annexation came largely from non-official groups. The first British-Australian plan for colonization had been advanced in 1867, and many other schemes had subsequently appeared.³⁰ After rumors of French, Russian, Italian, and especially German designs had gained wide currency in Australia, the popular demand for Great Britain to occupy at once the unappropriated portion of New Guinea had constantly waxed in strength.³¹ The Queensland Government, in particular, was anxious to seize New Guinea; and in April, 1883, her Premier, Sir Thomas MacIlwraith, sent H. M. Chester, Police Magistrate of Thursday Island, to Port Moresby with instructions to raise the British flag and to claim in the Queen's name all of New Guinea not occupied by the Dutch.³²

Following the immediate German protests at Queensland's precipitous action, the British Government declared that such procedure lay outside the powers of Queensland's colonial government; and the annexation was thus held to be null and void. In an exchange of notes at this time between London and Berlin, it was stated by Germany that her interests lay only in the north coast of New Guinea and in the islands where her nationals were already engaged in trade; Britain, on the other hand, politely expressed an interest in the coasts lying nearer her Australian colonies. Neither power, however, professed sufficient interest in the

²⁹ A. Wichmann, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Part 1, pp. 345-7; Great Britain Foreign Office, Historical Section, No. 42, *German Colonization*, pp. 77-8.

³⁰ A. Wichmann, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Part I, pp. 190-1.

³¹ Fifty-seven public meetings were held in cities and towns throughout Australia in 1883, all of which agreed that the welfare of the Australian colonies as well as of the native New Guineans demanded British annexation (See A. Wichmann, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Part 1, p. 309).

³² H. L. Hall, *Australia and England*, pp. 219-21; E. A. Benians, in *The Cambridge History of the British Empire*, Vol. VII, Part I, pp. 345-57.

country to contemplate immediate annexation. Thus it came as a shock to the British—especially to the Australians—when it was learned that German flags had been raised in November, 1884, in Northeast New Guinea and the New Britain Group. The chagrin of the British in Australia forced Great Britain to lay claim immediately to the southern portion of the island. Since only the coasts were then known, an agreement over a boundary which would divide the unclaimed eastern half of New Guinea into equal parts was easily reached in 1885.³³

PHASES IN EUROPEAN CONTROL SINCE 1884

Bismarck's reluctance to involve Germany deeply in colonial problems has been suggested as the reason for his adoption of the earlier system of the English chartered companies for the governance of the New Guinea possessions.³⁴ In May 1885, the already formed Neu-Guinea Kompagnie, of Berlin, was given an Imperial Charter of Protection over Kaiser Wilhelmsland and the Bismarck Archipelago, as the mainland and island districts were called respectively. This company, which had been incorporated according to Prussian law, was given a monopoly in the acquisition of free land and endowed with sovereign juridical rights, although law-making was reserved to the Empire. The company director stationed in New Guinea, entitled *Landeshauptmann*, was charged with the administration of the protectorate.

Although the Neu-Guinea Kompagnie assumed virtually no obligations except to its stockholders, it turned out to be a spectacular commercial failure. Interference by the directors in Berlin, poorly located agricultural enterprises and consequent crop failures, mismanagement in the protectorate, and a series of severe epidemics which impaired the health of managers and officials, all exhausted the company's resources. Owing to financial embarrassments, the company requested of the Imperial Government in 1889 that it be relieved of all administrative powers and duties.

³³ H. Blum, *Neu-Guinea und der Bismarckarchipel*, pp. 11-12; Great Britain Foreign Office, Historical Section, No. 42, *German Colonisation*, pp. 74-75, 82; E. A. Benians, *op. cit.*, Vol. VII, Part I, p. 395; E. R. Stanley, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

A Protectorate was proclaimed over southeast New Guinea by the British on November 6, 1884, when the Union Jack was hoisted at Port Moresby. The country was formally annexed in September, 1888, when it was given the name "The Possession of British New Guinea." It became the Territory of Papua when its control was transferred from the crown to the Commonwealth of Australia on September 1, 1906 (see H. Murray, *Papua of Today*, pp. 1-2).

³⁴ M. E. Townsend, *op. cit.*, pp. 124-5. "Bismarck never set forth a complete and exact Colonial program, but administered it in homeopathic doses" (*ibid.*, p. 120).

It received them back in 1893, but could make no real progress in its dual task of exploitation and administration, and finally abandoned the task of administration entirely to the Imperial Government's Colonial Office. After 1891, governors appointed by the Emperor replaced the company *Landeshauptmänner*, although the company continued to pay their expenses and salaries.³⁵

It has been alleged by some British writers³⁶ that the Germans, under the rule first of the Neu-Guinea Kompagnie officials and later the Colonial Government, were relatively lax in the work of pacification of remote tribes and in opening the country, as compared with their British contemporaries in Papua. Without denying the truth of such criticism, it may be asked whether exploration and inland penetration suffice as the sole criteria of efficient and adequate colonial administration. This underscores one of the principal points of difference between German and British colonial policy at this period, but when looked at solely from the British position it is apt to discredit unfairly what the Germans did actually accomplish. The record shows that, despite a great deal of bungling and mismanagement by the chartered company, notable progress was made between 1885 and 1914 in surveying the less accessible country, as well as in the economic development of coastal regions. The company commenced with scientific exploration on a large scale, sending expeditions under various *Landeshauptmänner* far up both the Sepik and Ramu Rivers. It also subsidized the thorough botanical work of C. Lauterbach and R. Schlechter,³⁷ and supported significant medical researches. Lack of commercial success, however, impeded this phase of the company's activity so greatly that the Government gradually assumed more and more of the scientific survey work. The Government was assisted in this field by individuals and learned societies in the mother country who supplied trained men, and occasionally funds as well, for the work in hand. Botanists, geographers, specialists in tropical medicine, and anthropologists made extensive studies in their respective fields. Many of their papers were published in the official colonial series known as *Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten*. Unattached

³⁵ H. Blum, *op. cit.*, p. 41; P. Decharme, *op. cit.*, pp. 150-6; P. Leroy-Beaulieu, *De la Colonisation chez les Peuples Modernes*, pp. 650-1; Great Britain Foreign Office, Historical Section, No. 42, *German Colonisation*, pp. 109-110; *Deutsches Kolonial-Lexikon*, article, "Neu-Guinea Kompagnie"; M. E. Townsend, *op. cit.*, pp. 99-100, 126, 148-9, 158-60.

³⁶ E. R. Stanley, *op. cit.*, p. 9; S. S. Mackenzie, *The Australians at Rabaul*, pp. 20-1.

³⁷ A. Wichmann, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Part II, p. 372.

explorers, gold-seekers, world travelers, and missionaries also made important contributions.³⁸

Although the expenditures of both the Neu-Guinea Kompagnie and, later, the colonial administration outran their receipts year after year,³⁹ the white population was slowly increasing. Trade statistics also show that the maturing coconut plantations were exporting greater and greater quantities of copra in the years immediately preceding the World War. When war broke out in Europe on the fourth of August, 1914, German possessions in the Pacific immediately assumed great strategic importance; their coaling bases and newly-erected radio stations which served the German fleet in the Pacific at once became sources of danger to Australia and New Zealand as well as to the various Crown Colonies in Oceania. Consequently, on August 6th and again on the 18th, 1914, the British Secretary of State for Colonies sent cypher telegrams to the Governor General of Australia instructing him to raise an expeditionary force which would seize the wireless stations on Yap, Nauru, and Pleasant Islands, and in New Guinea. The task of the force thus raised was to seize and occupy any or all of these places and to hold them until peace should be established. In the meantime the British flag was to be raised and the country suitably administered.⁴⁰

³⁸In comparisons between what was accomplished by the British in Papua and the Germans in New Guinea, due regard is seldom paid to the differences in methods of approach of the neighboring administrations. It is true that many of the Papuan Government's adjustments to the natives were copied by the Germans, but in their thoroughness the latter imposed a new stamp on them and made them specifically their own. German punitive expeditions, for example, really punished. In the Australian Government's census, tribes which do not offer armed resistance after one or two visits by patrol officers may be labelled "under control." This may have been necessary in order to impress the Council at Geneva with signs of progress, but it would never have satisfied the German governors. While the Papuan officers were trekking through the bush gaining fleeting impressions of the country, Germans were laying out beautiful towns and plantations along the coasts. It was not a question of German inability to cope with the rigors of travel in the bush; Thurnwald's ascent of the Sepik to its source, Lieutenant Detzner's amazing four years of wandering in the central ranges to escape capture during the first World War, and the score or more of old-time German missionaries who are thriving after a generation of the roughest sort of existence, testify to their national capabilities in this respect. The Germans seemed bent on consolidating their positions in the more accessible regions before bothering with the hinterland.

For illustrative purposes we might compare the Germans in New Guinea with the French settlers along the St. Lawrence River in Canada; the British in Papua, on the other hand, bear more resemblance to the early British and Scotch-Irish immigrants in colonial America. These are suggestive analogies only.

³⁹An imperial subsidy of at least one million marks per annum was necessary for the maintenance of the colony from 1904 on.

⁴⁰S. S. Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-6.

In pursuance of these orders, the Australian Naval and Military Expeditionary Force, composed of just over a thousand men, was immediately formed.⁴¹ As events were to prove, this force was more than sufficient to cope with the strength of the Germans, but at that time little actual knowledge and many wild rumors concerning the strength of the colony in New Guinea were current in Australia.

On the 11th and 12th of September, 1914, the "Coconut Lancers"⁴² landed on the eastern shores of the Gazelle Peninsula and, making contact with the enemy, engaged in a series of skirmishes with a defending German force of sixty-one whites and 240 natives. The principal action in this short campaign took place on the road to the radio station at Bitapaka, not far from Rabaul. Although an ambush had been laid, the casualties among the Australians were few (six killed and four wounded). The native troops commanded by the Germans had no heart for the affair, otherwise more serious resistance would have been met.⁴³

Seeing that further resistance was out of the question, the German force surrendered, and on September 13, 1914, the Union Jack was raised. The Terms of Capitulation (September 17, 1914)⁴⁴ allowed those Germans engaged in civil pursuits to return to their plantations or ordinary occupations on taking an oath of neutrality. Furthermore, German officials were invited to remain to instruct the military administration and make easier the transition of authority to the new governing body. The stirring events of the capture of New Guinea had interrupted the life of the Territory, causing waves of unrest to sweep through the native villages and labor compounds. The speediest possible return to normal conditions was indicated.

The Australian military administration outlived the war by two and one-half years pending the settlement of the peace and the determina-

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 23-24.

⁴² This nickname for the Expeditionary Force was acquired while the troops were encamped at Palm Island, Queensland, for a brief training period before proceeding to New Guinea.

⁴³ S. S. Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, Chap. V, *passim*. Mackenzie states: "The morale of the native constabulary had been unequal to the test of facing disciplined white troops, and with all the advantages of cover and position had proved a failure" (p. 73). But he also discovered that the native troops had been instructed to fire only on armed men in khaki uniforms, especially those in sun helmets, i.e., officers. This may explain why it was that the one company of Australians which had no time to don uniforms suffered no casualties (p. 63).

⁴⁴ For the terms of capitulation see *ibid.*, pp. 82-5.

tion of New Guinea's future status. Not until the Treaty of Versailles had been signed and the Covenant of the League of Nations drawn up was the way prepared for the inauguration of civil government. In the peace negotiations the then Prime Minister of Australia, W. H. Hughes, put forth a strong claim for outright annexation of New Guinea by the commonwealth. Great Britain's prior (though secret) commitments to Japan, however, and Wilson's promises of "no annexations and no indemnities," and "a free, open-minded and absolutely impartial adjustment of colonial claims," made necessary some form of compromise between these contrasting points of view.⁴⁵ The outcome was the creation of the mandate system, including the "C" class mandates.⁴⁶ Title to the New Guinea mandate was given the Commonwealth of Australia on December 17, 1920.⁴⁷ The authority of the mandatory power is defined in seven articles in accordance with the tenor of Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations.⁴⁸ Although the mandate texts themselves have been labelled "juridically incomprehensible,"⁴⁹ the principles laid down therein have served as the fountainhead of most of the legislation for modern New Guinea. Civil administration, however, was not established until a Royal Commission had reported adversely on incorporation of the Mandate with Papua,⁵⁰ an issue which once again is coming to the fore under the stress of present world events. The New Guinea Act

⁴⁵ K. H. Bailey in *The Australian Mandate for New Guinea*, (F. W. Eggleston, ed.), pp. 11-12; E. van Maanen-Helmer, *The Mandates System in Relation to Africa and the Pacific Islands*, pp. 36-7.

⁴⁶ Although new in name and scope, the mandate system was merely the culmination, in a formal structure, of forces and ideals which had been shaped during the preceding century of European colonial expansion. The growing commercial rivalry of colonial powers had been coincidental with the rise of a humanitarian attitude towards backward peoples. The pressing need for some kind of regulation of destructive commercial competition, for the gradual suppression of the slave trade, and the clamor for reform raised by articulate missionary societies were factors underlying a changing conception of the exploitation of countries and their peoples. Maanen-Helmer, (*op. cit.*, p. 30) says, "To the group who contributed most directly to the establishment of the mandates system, the idea of Colonies being held in trust for civilization seems to have come as the only means of escaping from pre-war economic imperialism and, at the same time, safeguarding the interests of the weaker populations inhabiting them."

⁴⁷ League of Nations, *Mandate for German Possessions in the Pacific Ocean situated south of the Equator other than German Samoa and Nauru*.

⁴⁸ F. White, *Mandates*, pp. 24-5. Article 22, the "magna charta of the aborigines in mandated territories," states that "the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization which is to be safeguarded by the tutelage of advanced nations."

⁴⁹ P. D. Phillips in *The Australian Mandate for New Guinea*, p. 22.

⁵⁰ K. H. Bailey in *The Australian Mandate for New Guinea*, p. 12. The chairman of this committee of three, Sir Hubert Murray, Lieutenant Governor of Papua, was the dissenting member.

(1920) of the Commonwealth Parliament prepared the way for the inauguration of civil authority on May 9, 1921. The new administration began under adverse economic conditions, for Australia, mindful of having spent over £1,000,000 on the military administration and fearful for her own financial position, announced that the Territory henceforth must be self-supporting.⁵¹

Social conditions and life generally during the military occupation were a continuation of what they had been during German times, with such modifications as were necessitated by the state of war and the uncertainty regarding future ownership of the land. But the latter factor itself inhibited commercial development, while the conquering forces made no efforts toward extending European influence or opening the country.⁵² Conditions underwent no marked change at the induction of the civil authority. Lack of funds and the protracted arrangements concerning the expropriation of German planters stood in the path of any rapid advance. An entirely new staff had to be created from men whose war records were of more official importance than any experience they might have had in tropical countries. Nevertheless, the tonnage of copra exported showed an annual increase, and royalties from the newly discovered gold fields helped to keep the receipts of the government above its expenditures.

The work of exploration and discovery during the Australian period has been carried on almost exclusively by government officials, while scientific research has been largely dependent on private enterprise with the permission and under the watchful eye of the government. The administration employed an anthropologist for a few years and once called on a specialist in native affairs from Africa to analyze its special problems of governing native peoples, controlling European exploitation, and implementing progress in the gradual development of native society.⁵³ An experimental station has been set up by the Department of Agriculture, but most of its work has been concerned with commercial crops for white plantations. Geologists and volcanologists have also been employed to undertake special studies. In native administration the emphasis has

⁵¹ S. S. Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, pp. 348-9; F. Alexander in *The Cambridge History of the British Empire*, Vol. VII, Part 1, pp. 623-4.

⁵² J. Lyng, *Island Films*, pp. 238-9.

⁵³ *Report to the Council of the League of Nations* (1925), p. 59. The inquiry was conducted by Col. John Ainsworth, former Chief Native Commissioner of Kenya Colony, and was carried on for four months.

been on the "practical" side—peaceful penetration to instruct the natives in a new political morality and to administer therapeutic medical aid in their villages. In spite of a limited budget much has been accomplished in easing the shock of culture contact. In the chapters which follow we shall examine the historical and contemporary evidence bearing on these problems in more detail.

CHAPTER III

THE BEGINNINGS OF PERMANENT CONTACT: 1872-1884

A proper evaluation of the changes which have taken place in New Guinea's native cultures as a result of white contact demands background study of the whole history of European penetration and settlement in this region. Any analysis of those processes of social change which are instituted during such markedly transitional periods must be based on careful examination of the variations and adjustments by which life in New Guinea society has been transformed from what it was in pre-European times to what it is today. In Chapter I we have attempted to present the typical patterns of the indigenous New Guinea cultures as they existed prior to the advent of Europeans. Chapter II dealt with the long chain of events through which New Guinea was first discovered and eventually became an appendage of European state and imperial systems. We turn now to a consideration of the beginnings of permanent contact between aborigines and Europeans. In the present chapter, then, we shall be concerned with the inter-racial and inter-cultural adjustments made necessary by the presence of European settlers in a black man's country during the decade or so before the establishment of European rule. This brief period of settlement prior to the inauguration of European colonial government is of more than historical interest, for in it we find the germs of many later institutional adjustments.¹

We must recognize at the start that the phrase "European contact" covers an indefinite number of concrete social situations in which Europeans and natives meet. Who are the Europeans? With what native

¹ Monica Hunter, in her Pondo (Cape Province, South Africa) study of acculturation, found "a knowledge of the history of contact of native and European . . . essential to an understanding of the present conditions of contact" (*Reaction to Conquest*, p. 1.) Dr. Hunter ably shows how "accidents" of history may be of far-reaching sociological significance.

society do they have to do? How are they received? What do they expect from the natives? What is their behavior toward the natives? These are the questions which must be answered before we can successfully analyze the reality of European contact. In other words, it is no less important to know the culture of the immigrant whites, and especially their reasons for coming to this inhospitable land, than it is to understand the cultures of New Guinea natives. It is from the interaction of these two traditional bodies of behavior and belief that the modern society of New Guinea has been created with all of its problems yet to be solved.

Since, with the early European settlers of New Guinea, we share in the common heritage of Western civilization, it is unnecessary to make any extended analysis of their total culture; we can assume the cultural backgrounds of the missionary, the trader, and the planter. Moreover, the natives who met these whites naturally came into contact with but a few highly selected European folkways. Thus in the following exposition we have to deal with a very restricted segment of European culture. The attempt is made to isolate for separate treatment the several imported cultural contexts within which natives were drawn; those of the trader, planter and recruiter, and missionary being the most important.

Unfortunately, information which might throw light on the nature of the earliest contacts between natives and whites is relatively scarce. However, from scientific monographs, diaries of missionaries, journals of travellers, and retrospective accounts of traders and government officials, significant gleanings of sociological importance can be made. The facts in the present chapter, while far from being entirely adequate, will show the evolution of inter-racial adjustment in New Guinea after the coming of the white man, and up to the time of his inauguration of organized government. The special conditions which obtained then—the primitive population, the climate, and the types of white enterprise—set their mark on the course of this evolution and have remained as fairly constant factors up to the present time.²

² The sociologist whose interest leads him to a library study of societies in contact on the frontiers of white settlement has to contend, more often than not, with many lacunae in the literature of the time and place. Where Europeans have pressed into primitive countries, only the whites have been able to record in writing the facts of daily life and the struggles of the two societies to adjust to one another. Usually, by the time the natives have learned to read and write, the primitive conditions of contact have passed away.

J. Lips, in his *The Savage Hits Back*, has made a valuable contribution to the study of contact in his collection of artistic expressions of primitive craftsmen in which Europeans are

The myths and legends of New Guinea aborigines that have been recorded by ethnographers include no prophecies of the future return of great culture-heroes to their native lands. The parochial nature of the folklore of the diverse tribes is a reflection of their highly segmented social and cultural grouping. No great leaders, such as Quat of the Banks Islands, Quetzalcoatl of the Aztecs, or even the allegedly white-skinned *arbat* ancestors of the New Hebrides Islands, existed in their myths; their surprise at first seeing white-skinned strangers in huge vessels was, therefore, unmitigated by any form of legendary anticipation.³ The contacts of the earliest European voyagers with the natives were few and fleeting,⁴ and, so far as we know, no native tales of the old explorers' visits had persisted into the nineteenth century. It may be assumed, therefore, that no lasting impressions had been made which might serve as frames of reference for their attitudes and behavior toward the strangers who came in the 1870's, when permanent contacts were first established, and active white settlement began. The consequence was a period of trial and error adjustment in the relations between members of the two racial groups.

Because of its isolated position, the paucity of its native products, and the geographical and climatological barriers to penetration, New Guinea was one of the last large areas of the earth to figure in the economic and cultural expansion of the Western world. There is some evidence that Malay traders and hunters found their way ahead of white men into what is now Northeast New Guinea. Their cultural legacies were limited, however, to odds and ends of trade goods, scraps of language, village plan possibly, and perhaps a few physical characteristics.⁵

portrayed. The scope of such work is naturally much more limited than even a simple written account. Its scientific value as representative of native attitudes also is slight since each statue or drawing requires a great deal of interpretation; and unless the artist can be interviewed while engaged in his work the interpretations may depart widely from the truth.

³ In Herskovits' recent work (*Acculturation*, p. 95) attention is called to the existence of a belief among tribes of the Mamberamo River, Netherlands New Guinea, in the imminent return of a local culture-hero. Further study of the mythology of the tribes in the Mandated Territory may well discover analogous material.

⁴ See Chapter II.

⁵ H. Blum reports that the natives of Tarawi and Valies (Wallis) Islands, off the Finsch Coast, spoke Malay brokenly. Their houses were splendidly clean and well laid out amid fine coconut groves. Blum says that this speaks for centuries of trade with Sundra Islanders. It may. (*Neu-Guinea und der Bismarckarchipel*, pp. 20-1.)

In physique and facial characteristics the inhabitants of Wuvulu and Aua Islands bear more resemblance to Malays than do any other inhabitants of the Territory. These islands

Whalefishermen of the early nineteenth century have been mentioned as among the first Europeans to make periodic visits to the shores of New Guinea. Their needs for food and water and their eagerness to acquire curios are given as the causes.⁶ That this was certainly the custom in other parts of the South Seas, notably in the Sandwich, or Hawaiian Islands, is well-established;⁷ but there is little evidence for their having made the islands of the Bismarck Archipelago or the coasts of Northeast New Guinea regular ports of call. Schnee⁸ says that their visits in the 1850's and 1860's were productive of trouble with the native population; but no legacies of misunderstanding and hate were left comparable to those in New Zealand and the New Hebrides. Others argue for early visits of whalers to New Guinea on linguistic grounds, and there is sound reason for believing that English-speaking fishermen contributed to Beach-la-mar, the pidgin-English of the South Seas.⁹ Melanesian-pidgin as spoken in the Territory is shown elsewhere, however, to have had other immediate antecedents.¹⁰ Finally, when it is appreciated that the off-shore whaling grounds nearest to New Guinea were in the vicinity of Fiji and the Kingsmill Islands,¹¹ we may be fairly sure that whalers seldom came in contact with New Guinea natives. Whaling, then, was not one of the economic pursuits which eventually drew New Guinea into the orbit of world trade and subjected its inhabitants to strange new social forces.

are situated within the supposed sphere of Malay influence. However, their cultural affiliation with Micronesians, who also resemble Malays, cannot be disregarded.

A. J. Marshall in an article entitled "Northern New Guinea" (*Geographical Journal*, Vol. 89 (1937), pp. 489-506) says: "Long before the first European ventured over the Torricelli Ranges Malay bird-shooters knew the country . . . We, too, found primitive stone-age natives aware of the white man's craving for beautiful feathers." Marshall saw several individuals with what he calls a "Malayan cast of features."

The best evidence of Malay penetration came to me in a personal communication from the late H. D. Eve, Esq. As a surveyor for Oil Search, Ltd., Eve visited many villages in the northwest Sepik district during 1935 to 1936 which, so far as is known, had never before seen a white man. Here he was greeted by these unknown primitives in Malay expressions. A few terms in the same language were used to designate the recognized trade goods with which he purchased food for his line of carriers. Although the natives recognized guns for what they were, they pantomimed their use as if they were muzzle-loaders, a type of gun whites have never used in New Guinea. These traces of Malay contact, if such they are, disappear east of a small unnamed river on the 142° 30' meridian, which approximately bisects the northern half of the present Sepik district.

⁶ H. Schnee, *Bilder aus der Südsee*, p. 55.

⁷ E. P. Hohman, *The American Whaleman*, pp. 109-113, 197-198, 199.

⁸ H. Schnee, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

⁹ W. Churchill, *Beach-La-Mar*, pp. 5-7.

¹⁰ See Appendix I, below.

¹¹ E. P. Hohman, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

In other Pacific Islands, from Hawaii through Fiji to the New Hebrides, forests of sandalwood offered to European traders one of the easiest and most profitable means of exploitation. Native labor was used to cut and carry the wood to the ships, later to be sold in the Chinese markets. New Guinea, however, had no such stands of sandalwood to lure skippers in the China trade. It remained for traders in other commodities to make the first attempts to realize profits from this long neglected land.

TRADING CONTACTS

As early as the 1840's, ships—hailing chiefly from Sydney—were making irregular and brief calls in these parts, especially along the southeastern coasts of what is now the Territory of Papua. There were no larger organizations behind such individual enterprises. A skipper merely loaded his vessel with the cheapest kinds of colored print goods, necklaces, mirrors, tomahawks, knives, mouth organs, umbrellas, pipes, tobacco, and sometimes dogs. While the vessel coasted the islands the natives of the beach villages paddled out to exchange whatever they had against these articles. The trader took what he could get in coconuts, shell, parrots, or curios. What values were attached to these goods in the earliest days we do not know. However, to judge by the books of one Captain Strasburg, profits were high; a pennyworth of tobacco in New Guinea bought three coconuts. For three coconuts he could buy a dog from a Sydney street arab. Back in the islands the dog would bring ten parrots which, in Sydney, could be sold for £5.¹²

The inclusion of a few strayed or stolen dogs in the bill-of-lading points to the transient character of this early trade. Larger enterprises with substantial capital and an organization behind them had to come before stability could be attained. Pioneer traders showed the way, but it was not until the appearance of the larger firms that economic penetration assumed any notable proportion.

The outstanding firm engaged in trading in the south Pacific in the mid-nineteenth century was the Hamburg company of Johann Caesar Godeffroy und Sohn. Its field of activity covered the Pacific, extending from Cochin to Valparaiso. Anselm, the agent at the South American factory, had selected Samoa as the principal trading station in the mid-Pacific. His enterprising successor, a Swiss named Weber, made Samoa

¹² J. Lyng, *Our New Possession*, pp. 35-6.

the commercial capital of this trading empire, and was largely responsible for the success of his house and for German commercial dominance in the South Seas.¹³

By the year 1871, the sphere of Godeffroy's activities had widened to include a part of what is now the Territory of New Guinea. In that year its vessels were sent regularly to the Bismarck Archipelago, and especially to the Admiralty Islands. Trochus and tortoise shell and copra were the products sought. What was purchased from the natives was paid for with iron tools and the trinkets of Western civilization.¹⁴

These transient contacts of ships' captains, often with other South Sea Islanders as crews, with scattered coastal villages could not be expected to bring about significant changes in the native cultures.¹⁵ These were to come only after the establishment of settled European trading stations. In 1872 an Englishman opened the first of such stations, Port Hunter (Duke of York Group), which lasted until 1875, or shortly before the establishment of the Methodist mission. No record was left by this first entrepreneur as to why he abandoned his undertaking. Reasons of health and hostility of the natives are the likeliest causes; he could scarcely have made his fortune in so brief a period.

At this same time the Godeffroy interests were realizing large enough profits from their New Guinea trade to warrant establishment of permanent stations in the Archipelago. Native products could then be concentrated at these depots and systematic trade be carried on. Consequently, in 1873, two stations were opened; one on the northeast of the Gazelle Peninsula, the other on Matupi Island in Blanche Bay. White factors were placed in charge at both places.¹⁶

¹³ J. Lyng, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-21; S. H. Roberts, *Population Problems of the Pacific*, pp. 48-9; *Deutsches Kolonial-Lexikon*, Vol. I, article: "Godeffroy."

¹⁴ H. Schnee, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

¹⁵ S. H. Roberts' statement (*op. cit.*, p. 34) that the mere sight of a white man opened for the natives a new stage of thought and a stage of disruption does not rest on pertinent facts and relevant theories of culture. He says, "Every part of the native polity depended on the unquestioned sway of custom; once queried in any part, once subjected to rational enquiry, the whole structure collapsed." He would be surprised at the number of parts of native polity which still exist in New Guinea despite two generations of contact with whites. Superficial observers of the effects of culture contact have all too frequently stressed the disintegrating effects of such contact, or the obvious cases of maladjustment, without paying due attention to the fact that relatively few primitive peoples have ever become extinct through mere commercial contacts.

¹⁶ The white factor at Nonga was the celebrated William Wawn, a "blackbirder," or South Sea Island labour recruiter for Queensland plantations, who later gained dubious fame for his candid account of the business. (See W. T. Wawn, *South Sea Islanders and the Queensland Labour Trade*.) John Nash was the Godeffroy representative at Matupi

In the following year more stations were opened in the same region. Godeffroy placed a factor on Mioko Island, and the small German firm of Roberts and Hernsheim began trading from Makada Island, both islands being in the Duke of York Group. Roberts and Hernsheim persisted there until 1878 when the station was removed to Matupi for reasons of health and better possibilities of trade.¹⁷

Small as were these beginnings of economic expansion, they were not unaffected by conditions in the outside world. During the Franco-Prussian war the French navy blockaded Hamburg. One effect of that blockade was to ruin the business of Godeffroy und Sohn at the very time when its deep-laid plans were about to achieve results.¹⁸ With the failure of the Godeffroy company, its New Guinea interests were assumed by the *Zweigniederlassung der Deutschen Handels- und Plantagen-gesellschaft der Südseeinseln*, better known to the English-speaking traders and settlers as "The Long Handle Firm."¹⁹

The settled stations in the region at this time were located only on the coasts of the Gazelle Peninsula and New Ireland and on the small Duke of York Islands which lay between. Trading and settlement did not extend inland or toward the mainland of northeast New Guinea until after German annexation of the country.²⁰ Reasons for this concentration of European enterprise are not far to seek. Foremost among them was the fact that the largest native populations were found in these regions; with coconut groves near at hand and marine products readily available, there was no need for the handful of first settlers to go farther. Furthermore, the total absence of roads and pack-animals made water-borne travel and transport a virtual necessity, and the islands were more readily accessible. Finally we must consider, as the early Europeans most certainly did, the factor of safety in numbers; for the aborigines had yet to become docile subjects of white supremacy. There were fewer dangers from vindictive native villages to the white men dwelling near one another, or on small islands within hailing distance of their sailing vessels, than there would have been had they been completely isolated on remote stations.

(W. T. Wawn, *op. cit.*, p. 169.) At one point these two men had to flee in their boats to escape a murderous attack by the surrounding natives. (See H. Schnee, *op. cit.*, p. 56.)

¹⁷ H. Schnee, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

¹⁸ S. S. Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

¹⁹ *Deutsches Kolonial-Lexikon*, Vol. I, article: "Godeffroy."

²⁰ H. H. Romilly, *The Western Pacific and New Guinea, passim*.

It was to the populous shores of the eastern islands of the Bismarck Archipelago, then, that the first white men came. There was no rush as to a newly-discovered gold-field, for the economic opportunities open to whites in New Guinea could not be successfully realized without the expenditure of considerable effort and the risk of loss of material goods, of health, or even of life itself. In 1883, after a decade of first attempts at trade and settlement, the total white population numbered only thirty souls, and the annual export of copra was but 2,000 tons.²¹ In view of this thin trickle of immigration the whites were out-numbered by at least a thousand to one; but they could follow their chosen avocations without hampering competition so long as peaceful relations with the natives could be maintained. The Blanche Bay region was large enough for all to share, for, despite the impressive names of some of the firms, none was yet strong enough to monopolize the trade.

The economic system of the white man's native trade was simple and direct; it was much closer to the aboriginal than to the European pattern. Each representative of a firm or individual trader had his own sphere of operations, usually embracing a continuous territory or series of adjacent islands. Included in such a territory were natives having a common language and culture. The undertaking of one Friedrich Schulle may serve as an example. Schulle had his home and headquarters on Nusa Island, a dot of land off the northwest tip of New Ireland. This station served as the concentration depot for the copra and sea products which he or his native employees bought at the ten substations situated in neighboring villages on the New Ireland coast.²² The lack of a common currency or medium of exchange made barter the method by which goods changed hands.

For a solitary white man this type of station was difficult to maintain so long as his relations with the surrounding natives remained unstable. The trader could not deal exclusively with chiefs, whose word was the ultimate authority, for the adequate reason that there were no individuals in whom such plenary powers were vested. His requests for the production of more copra and shell, or for larger collections of the palolo²³ worm,

²¹ The figures are those of H. H. Romilly, English Deputy Commissioner of Western Pacific, quoted by H. Schnee, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

²² H. Blum, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-7.

²³ Samoan name for a cunicid worm which lives in coral reefs. A little before the last quarter of the October moon they swarm to the surface for breeding and are gathered as food by the natives.

had to be addressed to the whole village. And while the pattern of community cooperation was not unknown to the primitive cultures with which he dealt, it was rarely practiced on a scale desired by the trader except on ceremonial occasions in the natives' own calendar and never from purely economic motives.

Although the white residents could and did combine to form a united front in cases of danger from native attacks, the white traders' spheres of exploitation were essentially self-contained. If a European dwelt more than a day or two's sail from Blanche Bay, the economic capital of the white man, he had to depend on his own authority—ultimately on his strength of arms—to preserve order. On the natives' part, theft and retaliation for breaches of native custom were forces upsetting the equilibrium. Shelves stocked with European trade goods were a constant temptation to natives who had no concepts of theft which extended beyond their own social groupings. Furthermore, the accidental or unintentional disregard of native custom by the self-seeking European inspired the natives to make retaliatory sorties against him.

The earliest history of the employment of native labor in New Guinea has not been recorded in such detail as we might wish. How natives were induced to follow and work for the pioneer whites, what payments they received, and the usual term of their periods of service are questions not answered in the literature. There are enough references, however, to house-boys, store assistants, and boat-crews in early accounts to show that the custom of using native help is as old as white settlement. The isolated trader thus had a personal retinue of young men, and sometimes women, over whom he exercised a large measure of control. These servants were recruited, as a rule, from another tribe or area than that in which they were to work. This not only prevented the recruits from deserting to their own villages whenever they saw fit, but also insured their loyalty to their master. Among a hostile population the natives from other districts were as dependent on the white man's leadership and rifles as he in turn was on their support. The lack of feelings of friendship or racial solidarity of natives from different societies created a condition which jeopardized the recruits' lives as much as those of their masters. Race- and caste-consciousness were concepts which these illiterate and unmechanized people did not have, and only now are beginning to discover.

PLANTATIONS AND RECRUITING

The first trader to see the added economic possibilities inherent in a systematically planned and scientifically managed coconut plantation which would produce a steady and dependable supply of copra was a New Zealander by the name of Farrell. Farrell and his half-Samoan, half-American wife had been engaged in trading with the natives from a small station on Mioko. Deciding to try his success as a planter, he disposed of this business to one of the German firms (the "Long Handle Firm") and moved to the shores of Blanche Bay. At Ralun he bought land from the natives, engaged some as laborers, and laid out the first coconut plantation in New Guinea. By 1884, when the land was made a German Protectorate, he had approximately 1,250 acres (250 *Morgen Landes*) under cultivation, on which he employed 150 native laborers. His trading interests were not neglected in the meantime, for he had fifteen small stations or depots in the vicinity of Ralun and one on the island of Buka.²⁴ When British recruiting laws were made applicable to New Guinea, Farrell sought and obtained American citizenship and thus evaded them.²⁵

Another white occupational group which assisted in bringing the New Guinea natives into contact with the culture of Europeans was that of the labor recruiter. In the beginning, Europeans who were engaged in trading and planting sought recruits on their own account to work their undertakings and perform all manner of menial services. External factors, however, soon gave rise to a class of whites who were engaged solely in procuring natives for others.

In tropical countries around the world the fundamental need of settlers and managers who look to the exploitation of the land has ever been for a dependable labor supply. After the middle of the nineteenth century, tropical Queensland in Australia and the islands of Fiji and Samoa became the scenes of agricultural undertakings under the direction of Europeans. In Queensland the tropical plantation economy received a forward impetus from the blockade of American cotton during the Civil War. Sugar-cane culture was instituted at the same time. High profits demanded cheap labor which white Australia, still a frontier,

²⁴ H. Blum, *op. cit.*, p. 8; J. Lyng, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-6.

²⁵ O. Finsch, *Samoafahrten*, p. 22.

could not supply. Nor were her own aborigines suitable for agricultural work.²⁶

The situation in both Fiji and Samoa was slightly different. Not only was the white population small, but manual labor in such a climate and setting was deemed unfitting for Europeans. British and German plantations on these islands were situated amongst large native populations, which should have solved the labor problem. However, Samoans and Fijians consistently refused to undertake this type of work.

The solution to the common problem which faced Australian and island planters alike was sought in the importation of able-bodied Melanesians from the nearer South Sea Islands. The Solomon and Banks Islands, the New Hebrides, and New Caledonia were the principal sources of overseas plantation labor in the 1860's and 1870's. It was not until the excesses and inhumanities of the labor trade had begun to exhaust these sources of supply and to arouse hostile European opinion that attention was turned to the Bismarck Archipelago.²⁷

Melanesian recruits served nominally under the indenture system.²⁸ By this device they were engaged to serve for a certain period wherever they were needed at pre-arranged wages. At the end of their period of employment they were to be transported back to their villages. Theoretically the basis of the indenture system is contractual, the contract receiving formal expression in a legal document, the indenture.²⁹ In actual practice, with natives who could scarcely understand the white man's language or desires abuses inevitably arose. Only gradually and in the face of vested interests could the British introduce effective legislation which gave these natives legal rights regarding methods of recruitment, their treatment on the plantations, and repatriation after expiration of their term of service.³⁰

Here we are not concerned with the whole dark history of the labor trade in the South Seas, but only with those later phases of it which

²⁶ H. Schneider, *Die Einwanderung Farbiger Rassen nach Australien*, pp. 29-30.

²⁷ H. Schneec, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-59; W. Wawn, *op. cit.*, *passim*; A. H. Markham, *Cruise of the Rosario*, *passim*.

²⁸ "Indenture is one of the devices by which business enterprise or government action has transferred labor to new and developing countries . . . It has found its typical occasion in the presence of undeveloped resources awaiting exploitation; and its typical effect has been to meet the costs and overcome the human inertia that keeps labor from flowing rapidly and automatically to such lands." C. Goodrich, "Indenture," *Encyclopedia of Social Sciences*, Vol. 7, p. 644.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 644-8.

³⁰ M. Willard, *History of the White Australia Policy*, pp. 135-8, *passim*.

reached out to brush New Guinea shores and touch New Guinea life. The recruitment of New Guinea natives for service on overseas plantations did not commence until 1882. In that year Romilly, the British Deputy Commissioner for the Western Pacific, reported three recruiting vessels in the Archipelago engaged in the search for laborers. In the following year, however, he counted over thirty ships, most of them from Queensland. A German report stated that by the year's end (1883) about 2,500 young men had been transported.³¹

The drastic methods which became necessary in order to secure recruits in other islands seldom had to be followed in New Guinea.³² The simple wiles practiced by these recruiters—dressing in flowing robes and odd headgear, conjuring, walking on their hands, and tap dancing—served quite adequately in these newer regions to win the attention of young and old.³³ Then the recruiters' desires could be interpreted to the assembled group. Captain Wawn stated that in three days' recruiting on the New Ireland coast he had the quickest success he had ever experienced. He secured 143 men and one woman, and adds, "Had I been able to carry them, I might have doubled that number in the . . . next twenty-four hours."³⁴ These were halcyon days for the recruiter. It is surprising, at first glance, to see the willingness of natives, who had so little contact with Europeans, to place their trust in them. It speaks for the fact that at this early date the natives had few specific grudges against the white man as such; familiarity later bred fear, if not contempt.

³¹ H. Schnee, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-9.

³² In islands visited by recruiters for decades a fair degree of sophistication had been reached by natives, making them wary of the deceitful whites. The stories which drifted back of the hardships of indenture, of abandonment on strange shores, and of death in distant lands acted as deterrents to recruiting. Consequently, white recruiters had to resort to all means within their power in order to fill their ships. Practices were indulged in such as "wooling 'm," i.e., running down native canoes and fishing the boys out of the water, or dropping pig iron through the canoes' bottoms so that their occupants could be picked up. Lying about the vessel's destination and the length of the period of service was also a common practice. (W. Wawn, *op. cit.*, p. 72; A. H. Markham, *op. cit.*, *passim*.)

³³ H. H. Romilly, *The Western Pacific and New Guinea*, p. 181.

³⁴ W. Wawn, *op. cit.*, pp. 295-6. Captain Wawn's description of the scene at one of his recruitments is worthy of quotation, for it shows that in these early contacts an age distinction in attitudes obtained which still holds true today. He says: "The excitement all along this part of the coast was intense. The boats were sometimes fairly rushed by men eager to get away who tumbled in without waiting to be asked and struggled with such of their friends as strove to detain them . . . Some of the older men, who disapproved of this wholesale exodus, also took to their canoes and chased the runaways . . . There was no waiting for 'pay' nor yet for any agreement with regard to the term of service in Queensland, or the remuneration at the end of it." (pp. 296-7).

Among such recruits there may have been those who lived to regret their precipitous action, but certainly Wawn cannot be accused of "blackbirding" or kidnapping them in this case. That such practices were not unknown in the Archipelago is attested by the sentence of penal servitude passed on two sailors of the Queensland labor ship *Forest King*. These men were charged and found guilty in a Queensland court of taking away nine natives of Fisher's Island (Tabar group) by force. The natives involved in the affair were repatriated.³⁵

The recruiting of New Guinea labor for the Samoan (German) plantations was in the hands of "the Long Handle Firm" during the 1880's. This firm's recruiters are said by Blum,³⁶ a compatriot, never to have been as inhuman as their English competitors. It is also said to have adhered to the three-year term of indenture after which the natives were returned home. Samoa then had the better reputation among possible recruits, just as Bulolo (a mining company) is today considered the most desirable place of employment. This fact is some justification for Blum's statement if such is needed, for Blum was an unsparing critic of German methods of colonization and native control in New Guinea. Approximately one-third of the recruits transported went to Samoa.³⁷

Exhaustion of the recruiting areas in other islands and the suppression of the Queensland "blackbirders" led to the falling-off of recruiting in New Guinea in 1884, in which year only a few hundred were transported. With the raising of the German flag over the country in this same year, British recruiting was brought to an end. Those expatriated laborers whose homes were in what had become German territory were returned,³⁸ and an Imperial note forbade the newly formed Neu-Guinea Kompagnie (which had sole authority to recruit in the Protectorate) to transport laborers except to German enterprises in the Archipelago where they had been before, and to Samoa.³⁹

What were the motives underlying the young New Guineans' desire to be recruited? It is as difficult to give a conclusive answer to this question as it is to say what induced early American pioneers to leave the seaboard cities for western frontiers. The most that can be done is to

³⁵ H. Schnee, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-60.

³⁶ H. Blum, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

³⁸ *Loc. cit.*; W. Deane (ed.), *In Wild New Britain: The Story of Benjamin Danks, Pioneer Missionary*, p. 246.

³⁹ H. Schnee, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

indicate the broad forces at work in the culture contact situation. That there were individual motives in each case is hardly to be doubted, but such have been lost.

The question arises as to how it was that recruits could be so easily secured among youths who seldom had had any direct contact with white employers. Materials for a final answer to this question unfortunately do not exist, but desire for economic gain was certainly one of the strongest reasons. Furthermore, natives were not completely naive as to where they were going and what they might expect in the way of remuneration.⁴⁰ They had seen or heard of other returned laborers and their wealth of goods, especially firearms. Of all the white man's articles of trade, guns were the most highly regarded by these natives. Two or three years' work was not considered too high a price to pay for a weapon which would bring not only prestige to its possessor, but also great advantages to the clan or village in native warfare. This desire for arms and ammunition was only one of the more obvious expressions of native acquisitiveness. Recruiting helped to solve the young man's problem—often pressing in these native cultures—of amassing enough goods to pay the bride price and thus secure a wife and economic partner.

Another motive, which may be inferred from what is known of recruiting at present in New Guinea, was the urge to adventure. Wawn's description quoted above⁴¹ would serve quite well to describe a recruiting scene—among relatively untouched natives—witnessed by the writer in 1937. The younger men, without caring what handmoney was paid, were eager to get away, while their fathers and uncles exhorted or forcibly detained them from making the move to recruit. Here we see the same line-up of the younger versus the older generation.

Although recruiting offered an escape for criminals and the disaffected, youths who had nothing to fear in village life formed the bulk of the recruits.

⁴⁰ At the beginning of transportation away from New Guinea some natives did labor under a misapprehension as to the period of their service. The men of Nusa Island and northern New Ireland had been recruited by Europeans of Blanche Bay for a term of three months and then returned home. Some Queensland labor traders practiced the deceit of talking of three months but meaning three years (see A. Wichmann, *Entdeckungsgeschichte von Neu-Guinea*, Vol. II, Part I, pp. 322-3.). H. H. Romilly had as one of his duties as Deputy Commissioner of the Western Pacific the task of following the route of labor vessels and explaining to the natives what indenture meant (see H. H. Romilly, *Letters from the Western Pacific and Mashonaland*, 1878-1891, pp. 177-8).

⁴¹ Note 34.

Traders and recruiters, in the modern history of European expansion into backward regions, have been the principal dealers in two of the most destructive articles which higher civilizations have bequeathed to the lower—firearms and distilled liquor. The fact that these were available to natives in New Guinea for hardly longer than a decade, too short a time to have serious debilitating effects on the native societies, stamps this situation as unique. As they were only occasional hunters, the natives had little use for firearms aside from their never-ending feuds amongst themselves. And guns could be turned against Europeans, as the latter had learned from skirmishes with armed natives in other islands. Consequently, in the interest of safety, the English High Commissioner for the Western Pacific forbade British subjects to supply firearms to natives in his broad area.⁴² Queensland had earlier forbidden the export of firearms to the South Sea Islands by returning natives. The latter could circumvent this law, however, by receiving their pay in cash and purchasing the weapons from traders of other nationality in the islands. Furthermore, British control was so lax that the laws could be easily and openly ignored. In island stores cartridges were listed along with stick-tobacco, calico, and other trade goods as purchasable items for a certain amount of copra.⁴³ It was not until the establishment of German rule, in fact, that an efficient ban was placed on native ownership of firearms. What few muskets there were in native hands at that time soon became rusty and useless pieces of scrap iron.

It has been said by one observer⁴⁴ that indentured laborers who went to Queensland acquired a taste for alcohol. This new form of indulgence ("betel" being the only indigenous drug) was procurable at the trade stores prior to German rule, but its cost must have been prohibitively high. Certainly there was never such a problem of native drunkenness in these parts as obtained, for instance, among many American Indian tribes. Alcohol was not used as bait to lure recruits away; nor was it employed to make villagers slaves of a habit which might spur them to produce larger quantities of copra and shell.⁴⁵ Wawn reports that he knew of

⁴² H. Schnee, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

⁴³ W. Wawn, *op. cit.*, pp. 150-1.

⁴⁴ J. Pfeil, *Studien und Beobachtungen aus der Südsee*, p. 42.

⁴⁵ The steady application to the job which an agricultural economy demands would be seriously hampered by periodic drinking bouts on the part of the cultivators. Alcohol has been used more frequently as an article of European trade where hunting societies have been exploited. The periodicity of the hunting economy allows a relatively greater amount of leisure time.

only one case, and that highly questionable, where recruits had been secured by getting them drunk.⁴⁶ Moreover, if liquor had been freely used by the natives the missionaries would have added this to the list of their pagan practices which must be stamped out. In Danks's Journal⁴⁷ only one instance of seeing an intoxicant in the possession of a native is recorded. By German decree on annexation it was forbidden to supply alcohol to natives.

We have discussed thus far certain European occupational groups, namely, the traders, the planters, and the recruiters, who came in contact with the native population and created new conditions pregnant with changes for the culture of the latter. It will readily be seen that these groups were not discrete entities; for one man (Farrell is an example) might belong at the same time in all three categories. The classification is valuable, nevertheless, for it is one which the natives themselves made; new codes of behavior arose to channel their actions and relationships with Europeans of each type.

The common measure in character and conduct of the Europeans thus far discussed is that of their essentially exploitative aims; they sought profits in the land and by means of the natives, for the land was valuable only so long as there were hands to work it. Consequently it was to the planters' advantage that the natives survived. It goes without saying, therefore, that here in New Guinea—as in the Pacific Islands in general—there has been no deliberate attempt to wipe out native tribes. What injurious forces have been unleashed by European contact have been, for the most part, unintentional and unwitting.

At the same time it might be thought that recruiters as a class would have had less consideration for the effects of their business on the continued existence of native society than other groups. Their profits were counted simply in the number of laborers secured, and it required but few trips to amass considerable wealth. But we find that recruiting in New Guinea was never the bloody business that it had earlier been in other islands. German recruiters engaged by the large firms were under some control; and the British, backed by an aroused public opinion, had passed legislation giving the *kanaka*⁴⁸ a measure of protection. Govern-

⁴⁶ W. Wawn, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

⁴⁷ W. Deane (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 149.

⁴⁸ In the nineteenth century the term *kanaka*—meaning "man" in the Polynesian language—was used to designate a South Sea Islander who was in European employ. Nowadays it means simply any native of the South Seas.

ment agents were put aboard labor vessels to guarantee good faith and report breaches of the law. Although these measures did not abolish all abuses they are witnesses of changing sentiments of the people at home.⁴⁹

Despite the transient nature of their calling, it is reported that recruiters, on the whole, never used force to gain their ends. Such a course of action, it was recognized, would injure their reputations in the natives' eyes, and make it difficult to get "boys" on any subsequent occasions.⁵⁰ This statement cannot be taken literally in view of the kidnapping incident of the *Forest King* mentioned above.⁵¹ It should stand rather as a model of the recruiter's behavior, an ideal which had its base in practical experience.⁵²

MISSIONARY CONTACTS

A third class of European to come among the natives of the Bismarck Archipelago in the pre-governmental years was the missionary. The first permanent mission was established by the Australian Wesleyan Church, in 1875, in the Duke of York Group.⁵³ This was not the first attempt at missionary work in the Territory; that had been made on Rook Island, Dampier Strait, in 1852. Two Catholic fathers of the Utrecht mission, Geissler and Otlow, had established a post there which lasted for three years. It was finally abandoned, because of native hostility and poor health, in favor of an island in Geelvink Bay, Dutch New Guinea.⁵⁴

In its beginnings the Wesleyan Mission consisted of the Reverend George Brown and nine Samoan and Fijian Christians, six of whom had brought their wives. Seven more teachers from the same islands were brought in during the mission's second year to open new schools in the Blanche Bay district.⁵⁵ These native teachers, who seem to have been on the whole a sincere and courageous lot, settled with their wives and families in nearby villages. Their task was to bring enlightenment according to the Wesleyan creed to the natives among whom they dwelt.⁵⁶

⁴⁹ M. Willard, *History of the White Australia Policy*, pp. 137-8.

⁵⁰ H. H. Romilly, *The Western Pacific and New Guinea*, p. 181.

⁵¹ Page 101, note 35.

⁵² This same pattern still persists among modern recruiters. It will be dealt with in a later chapter.

⁵³ G. Brown, *George Brown, D. D., Pioneer-Missionary and Explorer, An Autobiography*, p. 97.

⁵⁴ M. Krieger, *Neu-Guinea*, p. 5; H. Blum, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

⁵⁵ G. Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 75-88, 176.

⁵⁶ W. Deane (ed.), *op. cit.*, Chapter I, *passim*.

Although the professed aims and motives of the missionary emphasized the spiritual rather than the material gains which would accrue to the *kanaka*, there were elements in his relations with the natives which might place him in a class with the planter. That is to say that the mission from the very first played a determinative role in the changing economics of primitive life. Land was purchased and paid for in trade goods, as was the labor of natives who performed necessary services at the station. But unlike the planter-trader the missionary would not supply the natives with either muskets or alcohol.⁵⁷

Brown, and his European colleagues who came later, not only would not supply the natives with firearms, but they themselves did not depend on them when going among their flock. This was in sharp contrast to the practice of other white residents of the group, most of whom moved about armed to the teeth.⁵⁸

Another practice which set the missionaries apart from the other whites in the eyes of the natives was the active stand they took against the recruiters. The essentially antithetical interests of the missionaries and recruiters in their relations with the natives found expression from the first. Their eternal argument centered in the question of which group was to have dominance over the natives. Missionaries wanted the natives to remain in their villages so that they could receive the preachments of their teachers; recruiters were anxious to transport as many of the able-bodied men as they could induce to sign on. These opposing interests frequently met in head-on collision. When Captain Wawn was recruiting in Blanche Bay, for instance, he was rowed along the shore in a whaleboat from village to village. Following him on land was a Samoan teacher of the Wesleyan Mission who continually exhorted the natives to have no dealings with this white man.⁵⁹ Even the more humane recruiting of the Germans was viewed with disfavor by this mission. Danks says, "The German plantations in Samoa needed workmen and several of their vessels were in the group recruiting. Again and again our work was broken up in various places by our people leaving for Samoa as recruited labor. We set ourselves to enlighten the natives on the matter. This made the whites very angry; and I received several fiery letters."⁶⁰ The proprietary interest of the mission in the natives is

⁵⁷ G. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

⁵⁸ W. Deane (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 24; H. H. Romilly, *op. cit.*, pp. 121-122.

⁵⁹ W. Wawn, *op. cit.*, p. 292.

⁶⁰ W. Deane, (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 80.

obvious in the phrase "our people"; we may only conjecture as to what constituted the "enlightenment."

From experiences such as these, the natives of the Blanche Bay region gradually came to hold opinions of their own regarding the different types of white men whom they encountered. The people of Matupi Island, for example, said that they would welcome a mission teacher, but they refused to allow a ship's captain to disembark a trader on their ground.⁶¹ Again, the chief Tobala, headman of Nodup community, came to the missionary to request that a teacher be sent to settle in his village. At first glance this seemed to prove that Nodup was eager to embrace Christianity. But it was proved later to be a matter of community prestige rather than the desire for enlightenment. This was evident after very un-Christian hostilities had broken out between Nodup and Kiningunan over the fact that the latter community, too, had been promised a teacher. Nodup wanted *lotu* for itself.⁶²

The factor of prestige also played a part in the building of churches in the native villages. Brown had always paid the natives who tended his gardens, built his houses, and did the casual work around his station. Hence when he asked the Port Hunter natives to build a church—and explained that since it was for their own use they would receive no pay—they simply laughed at him. However, the missionary "kept after them," as he says, until they did do it. The other villages which had teachers came to hear of this and asked themselves why they had no church building. Within a few weeks seven were erected in adjacent communities.⁶³

To the Rev. Benjamin Danks, who was sent to New Britain in 1878 to assist Brown, the country seemed "a land . . . full of glorious missionary possibilities and lurking dangers."⁶⁴ We should see how the mission was organized to carry on its work in the face of both these conditions. The white missionary dwelt at the head station in the Duke of York group teaching and preaching to such natives of the neighborhood as would listen. From his headquarters he also went out to the various villages in the region, where his imported native Christian teachers had been stationed, to supervise their work and gain more converts for the church.

⁶¹ G. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

⁶² G. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 112. *Lotu* was the Samoan term for the Christian religion. It was introduced into the pidgin speech of the Territory by these Wesleyan catechists.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 185-7.

⁶⁴ W. Deane (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 24.

This was the simple organization of the mission. It remains to summarize its activities in the field before analyzing its effects on native culture. How did this embryonic institution guard against the lurking dangers and seek to make capital of the glorious possibilities?

Probably the greatest single need of the mission in these early days was for a common language with which to reach the natives' minds. This was clearly recognized by these first missionaries who spent much of their time learning the Blanche Bay language so as to be able to carry on instruction in the native tongue.⁶⁵ The goal of establishing schools for natives, young and old of both sexes, would be a possibility only if there were some common speech which the students could understand.

Even when missionaries had become proficient in a native language, as did the Wesleyans, there remained many barriers in the path of Christianizing the aborigines. The apathy of the natives toward receiving the gospel was one, the continual interruptions in the work of education another. Both conditions arose from the fact that the native culture was still functioning along traditional lines. This meant that little need was felt for either the Christian code of ethics or the dogma so long as the native society was self-sufficing. The natives were anxious to learn the new techniques for the use of iron tools and weapons; but they could not see why they should give up secondary wives and secret societies to attain these techniques or the implements themselves. Moreover, the confidence of the natives had to be gained, feuds and fighting settled, the sick cared for, and the routine of station life directed. All of these activities consumed time and energy which the missionaries might otherwise have spent in teaching. Brown's patience was strained by these seemingly superfluous details to the point where he cried, "'Twas not *will* these people receive the Gospel, but *when* will they do so."

The apathy of the natives towards receiving instruction in the missions was attributed by the missionaries to the forces of "paganism" and "superstition." When appeals to reason did not bring about the immediate abandonment on the natives' part of practices which were distasteful or abhorrent in the eyes of the whites, more direct methods were called into play. It is not within the province of scientific enquiry to cen-

⁶⁵ Melanesian-pidgin had yet to be born. Only a few natives in the district could speak "broken English." The natives indentured to Queensland plantations had not yet returned in any numbers. It is probable that the mission was a factor in the growth and spread of Melanesian-pidgin even though the missionaries spoke a few dialects of the local language, but direct evidence is lacking. (See Appendix I.)

sure the methods used in former times to introduce Christian ethics into native culture. When missions of that day sought to stamp out folkways they thought were harmful, it came only from a sincere desire to alleviate the lot of the aborigines. What has been learned by scientific methods concerning the nature of social institutions during the last century may make some of the older methods seem ill-advised if not destructive. Our criticism, however, must be reserved only for those modern proselytizing agencies which fail to learn or wilfully refuse to make use of this fund of knowledge.

A distinctive aspect of paganism in Blanche Bay societies which immediately struck the missionary eye was the total lack of clothing. In 1875 "you would not have seen a single person, male or female, with any clothing on at all, but now [1877] there were great numbers who would have been ashamed to go without clothes."⁶⁶ Donning a *laplap*,⁶⁷ or some cast-off pieces of European attire, was thus made a norm of conduct in the new folkways of missionized natives. It also served as a badge of sophistication and prestige. The powerful sanction of shame was brought to bear on those who did not conform. Danks says, "It did not help us to see a man pass along the beach with nothing more on than a short shirt. It was refreshing, however, to hear the sarcastic remarks of some of the natives."⁶⁸

The concept of shame at the exposure of the genitals was not, as has been seen,⁶⁹ foreign to all New Guinea cultures. Some form of genital covering was worn aboriginally by adults in the majority of societies. Hence the assumption of clothing by the naked societies of the Territory is not necessarily to be attributed solely to missionary training or other European contact, although they undoubtedly accelerated the change.⁷⁰

A more difficult task than clothing the naked which the mission set out

⁶⁶ G. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 228.

⁶⁷ Melanesian-pidgin term for the calico wrap-around, or waist cloth, which has become the ordinary attire of New Guinea natives in contact with Europeans.

⁶⁸ W. Deane (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 276.

⁶⁹ Chapter I, above.

⁷⁰ At first glance the ease with which the mission induced Blanche Bay natives to wear clothing seems surprising. Our data from Kwoma culture, whose participants also wore no clothing, may shed light on this point. Conventional behavior among the Kwoma taboos gazing at the sex-organs of others of the opposite sex. A feeling of shame is definitely associated with the genitalia, but, whereas in other cultures grass skirts or bark-cloth bands satisfy the dictates of modesty, the Kwoma have adjusted by a complex of folkways covering postures, looking, and the rest. Furthermore, the Kwoma are now rapidly adopting the *laplap* of their own accord. The ridicule of other tribes is the only factor to account for this. They have never been missionized.

to achieve was to put an end to retaliatory murder, internecine warfare, and cannibalism. Having no punitive forces to compare with those of later governments, their successes in this line were not spectacular. They depended largely on their powers of persuasion to check such practices, and also acted as intermediaries wherever possible between hostile villages. It was the Rev. Brown's custom to take influential natives with him when he went to visit other communities in hope of seeing friendly relations established and trading inaugurated. On one occasion he took a headman of the Duke of York group to Matupi Island in Blanche Bay. Although the distance was less than twenty miles, this man, a village leader in every sense, had never set foot on the Gazelle Peninsula.⁷¹ Hostilities were so everlasting, even in the Duke of York group itself, that two years passed before the Outam Island people would come to Port Hunter, a distance of only three miles.

Lack of the authority or means, according to their own beliefs, to prosecute the instigators of murders and feuds, led the missions to seek preventive methods and thus forestall outbreaks of armed violence. If rumors of native quarrels were heard by village teachers or missionaries, they would investigate. If not too late to prevent open battle, they would at least attempt to arbitrate the matter. In one instance a Samoan teacher rushed between the lines of two contending war parties, knocking down their spears with his club. Danks had finally to forbid his Polynesian teachers to rush heedlessly into these native fracas.⁷²

Rumors were frequently current in the neighborhood of the early white settlements—as they are in out-stations today⁷³—purporting to foreshadow a general massacre of the whites and their retainers. When attacks were made on the mission station the missionaries were faced with two alternatives: they could make a quick and forceful show of strength, or they could turn the other cheek—and run the risk of a general uprising. At one time certain Blanche Bay communities killed four of the Polynesian teachers of the Wesleyan Mission. This was a signal for the Rev. Brown, who held that the lives of all foreigners were imperiled by this

⁷¹ G. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

⁷² W. Deane (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 62, 78.

⁷³ In January and February 1937 the report spread on the Sepik River that three villages near Ambunti were combining forces with certain untouched bush tribes in order to destroy the government station and kill or drive away the white officers and native constabulary. The ranking official on the river undertook an immediate investigation and by his prompt action scotched the plan (if one existed) and the rumor.

act, to take the law into his own hands. He called together all the whites residing in the district, armed his remaining teachers, and at the head of this punitive expedition marched against the natives who had committed the outrage. The punishment consisted of killing "a large number" (?) of these people. Life and property are said to have been safer thereafter.⁷⁴

The family institution of native societies in Blanche Bay was a target not only of missionary criticism but also of active reformatory measures. Judgment was passed on the division of labor between the sexes, for instance, which was thought to be extremely hard on the women. The missionaries tried to remold this aspect of native culture to a closer conformity with European patterns and ideals. Brown would never allow women to be used as carriers on his journeys overland, despite the generations of native tradition which authorized their serving as beasts of burden.

The marriage system, with its childhood betrothal, bride price, early marriage, polygamy, and easy divorce, was so foreign to the missionary's ideals that nothing but evil was thought to come from it. In the light of modern sociological theory, we may see that such a view was derived from focusing attention exclusively on the form and superficial details of native practices. The missionaries who passed stern judgment on the system failed to see its integral part in the efficient functioning of the culture as a whole. Danks tried to abolish the "selling of women," as he termed the bride price, but found to his surprise that the women and girls themselves did not want it abolished.⁷⁵ Thereupon he purchased from the relatives and friends of all the girls who boarded at his small school the right to decide all questions relating to their marriage.⁷⁶ Obviously, this was a desperate measure; for the mission could not become marriage-broker for the whole Bismarck Archipelago. But even these efforts to set an example met with little success. Of the girls attending the school all but one or two reverted to the native system soon after they were removed from under the direct influence of the mission.⁷⁷

Direct attacks on the native folkways of marriage, then, were unavailing; but the missions did play some part in raising the status of women. We have seen that the New Guinea aborigines, like the majority of the

⁷⁴ H. Schnee, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

⁷⁵ W. Deane (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 167.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 177.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 168.

earth's primitive people, draw sharp lines of distinction between the spheres of male and female activities. Pious Europeans regarded woman's role in native society as that of virtual slavery. Danks says, "The disabilities under which these women lived extended in all directions. There were certain grounds tabooed to women and to the uninitiated young men and boys. These grounds were generally situated upon the most desirable parts of the beach. Even to look upon these spots brought its punishment; to walk over them meant instant death. We set ourselves with all our might to overcome that custom."⁷⁸ Breaking the power of native sanctions over these sacred spots was essential to the missions; for if a church had been erected on such ground—as several were—it meant that only the fully initiated males could attend. However, once the land had been profaned by a woman's step, an entering wedge was driven into the native system of taboos. The mission did all in its power to widen the breach.⁷⁹

Still other native practices and concepts were not only opprobrious in the eyes of the missionaries but were also regarded as the foci of opposition to the acceptance of Christianity. While the natives continued to honor their tutelary deities, and to pay homage to the *dukduk* and *iniet* societies,⁸⁰ the missionaries' concept of a new supernatural agency had little meaning. The old ideas, it was thought, had to go; and, since the value of a gradual transformation was not apparent in these early days, direct measures were followed to achieve this end. Once, for example, when mission boys had received pay from the mission, a Duke of York native dressed in *dukduk* regalia accosted them on the road and demanded tribute. Danks, hearing of this hold-up, rushed to the scene and whispered to the man that if he persisted he would reveal his name. By tactics of this sort the mission succeeded in driving this society under cover. It reappeared in 1909, though shorn of its former power.⁸¹

Again in New Ireland the cult of the dead was a rallying point for spirited resistance to the changes demanded by the mission. The forceful Rev. Brown struck directly at the heart of the problem by making midnight raids on the *malagan* enclosures and stealing these elaborately

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 173.

⁷⁹ It is more than likely that the men had agreed to erect church buildings on such ground, with the express purpose of preserving the sex dichotomy, and so to have the *lotu* exclusively for themselves.

⁸⁰ See Chapter I, above.

⁸¹ W. Deane (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 282.

carved symbols of the cult from their sacred spots.⁸² The end justifying the means in this case, Brown could return and preach the Ten Commandments with an untroubled conscience.

Despite such subversive undertakings, the main program of reform instituted by the missions was founded on education. Education, of course, had a special meaning colored by the missionary bias. Primary emphasis was on reading and writing, so that religious literature could be used to instruct the students in mission schools. Within three years of the opening of the mission in the Duke of York group the following tracts had been translated into the native language: a reader, the First Catechism, fourteen hymns, and the Gospel according to St. Mark. Progress had also been made on a dictionary of the language.⁸³ Brown also taught the students at the head station the Ten Commandments, the Creed, several parts of the Catechism, and the English alphabet.⁸⁴

It was a great problem to induce the local natives to come to school, and more of a problem to make them stay. The confining nature of the work and the concentration it required were foreign to native experience except for their infrequent ceremonies of outstanding social importance. Furthermore, the missionaries' trips away from the head station to visit new districts, the pacification of warring tribes, the sickness of the staff, and the native resistance to mission work were all hindrances to continuous school work. When students began to drop away early in a course of instruction which Danks was giving in Kabakada, the missionary found the reason to be that the old men were bringing pressure to bear on the youths to stop. As an antidote to their opposition Danks determined to start a class for chiefs. He sent invitations to all of the clan- and hamlet-leaders in the vicinity. He relates: "To my surprise they all came. I was very careful not to weary them by set lessons, but sat among them telling them mostly of the wonders of the Christian civilization, and they listened with open-eyed astonishment. They attended for a few weeks and then quickly dropped off."⁸⁵

⁸² G. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

⁸³ W. Deane (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 227.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 48. In the writer's experience the "wonders of civilization" excite little interest in the minds of the untouched natives. Among the Kwoma only the younger men, those who had travelled far and worked in distant mining ventures or on plantations, or boys who looked forward to doing the same, showed curiosity about the material culture of the Western world. The older men exhibited passing interest in the sociologist's family relations but couldn't comprehend machines.

The novelty of *lotu* at first ensured a measure of success which did not always last. The opportunity for social gatherings which it offered was one of its appeals, but it still had to compete with native feasts and dances. When books were printed in the native dialect those students who had persevered long enough to learn to read were eager to have them, and the crude alphabet cards and blackboards made of kerosene tins were contemptuously thrown away. To be able to read like the "masters" (as whites already were addressed) brought prestige. A headman whose son studied at a mission school had the lad write down a dictated list of all the indentured laborers from his community who, according to his reckoning, were overdue to return. He presented this list proudly to the German consul at Matupi while stating his case.⁸⁶

But the education of the young brought few returns to their parents outside of temporary gratification of their vanity. Schooling interfered with the ordinary pursuit of the food quest on land and sea, and raised up a new authority which sapped the native parents' control over their own children. If the youths had taken more rapidly to school work, more changes and strife might well have resulted; but such was not the case. Reports of the mission to its parent body were mixtures of progress and retrogression. Danks wrote, "We have the greatest difficulty in gathering people together for worship. I often sent a teacher to one end of the village with a bell, to ring the people up, and beg them to come to Church while I went to the other doing the same. The result was about a dozen or so women and children, possibly two or three men. Sometimes none but our few servants came."⁸⁷

The division of the sexes in the native culture extended down the age-scale to include the younger generation as well as adults. This proved another stumbling block to the introduction of a European-type school. The boys did not want girls in the schools with them. They hazed and otherwise intimidated them until the girls stayed away. Only on pain of having the school closed entirely did the boys agree, grudgingly, to let the girls attend with them.⁸⁸

If the progress made by students taught by the white missionaries themselves was slow, that of boys and girls who had only Polynesian teachers was even more greatly retarded. There were differences in

⁸⁶ Rev. R. H. Rickard, quoted in *ibid.*, *New Britain*, p. 229.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 258.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 46-7.

both zeal and personality among the Polynesians: a few fulfilled their supervisors' highest hopes in the work they did, yet others accomplished little or nothing of the pedagogical schedule. In three villages on Blanche Bay which had had resident Samoan teachers for six years, it was found that not a boy or girl could read or write. In Raluana, Rev. Danks examined twenty scholars with "very disappointing" results. The lack of school materials and the incessant fighting in the region were given as extenuating circumstances.⁸⁹

In a sociological study of contact between the natives and the missions, census figures showing an increasing number of converts are not only suspect in themselves but also relatively useless.⁹⁰ We want to know what Christianity meant to the natives, how the ideas were received, and to what use they were put; in brief, how did the culture of the New Guinea Christian vary from that of the pagan? From the facts presented it is possible to draw some conclusions regarding this new cultural configuration, and the mission's role in its genesis.

The attempts of single villages and of the adult males of the village to have *lotu* only for themselves was not in harmony with the mission goal of universal education. In due time missionary persistence overcame this anti-democratic resistance, but only at the expense of having book-learning restricted solely to the young people of the villages. The never-ending requirements of the daily economic routine of the adults was another hindrance to their becoming students. Their sons and daughters could more easily be spared from the bread-winning activities. Moreover, the general absence of parental discipline among New Guinea societies allowed the young a larger measure of freedom. Finally to be noted was the conservatism of the older generation. Adult individuals were full members of an integrated and functioning society which satisfied most of the material and spiritual wants that they had ever known.

Another aspect of the contact situation which altered the course of native life lay in the authority assumed by the mission. As arbiters in disputes between individuals and between groups it played a role which was new to native experience. The mission station became a sanctuary of natives who would otherwise have suffered from the harsh retaliatory

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 84-5.

⁹⁰ As it is, there are few figures to show the spread of Christianity. In 1878 there were no schools or scholars on the Gazelle Peninsula. Two years later saw twenty-nine day and Sunday schools in the Duke of York Islands with 514 students (*ibid.*, p. 49).

justice of primitive society. And finally the mission was willing, even eager, to see that justice was done when difficulties arose between white pioneers and the natives.

The gradual acceptance by the natives of the mission's leadership is not clearly marked by any series of events; rather does it partake of the nature of evolutionary change. Unnoticed forces of syncretism were quietly at work, however, drawing the groups closer together into new composite aggregates and institutions. Basically it seems to have been the superior organization of the mission and the single-mindedness with which its program was pursued that paved the way to its assumption of authority. In face of the missionaries' persistence stood the comparative disorganization and vacillation of the natives. While attempts to undermine the tribal life of the natives antagonized some, the pleasures and benefits of European goods, of medical care, and of personal and tribal security were welcomed by others. In a letter of Rev. Rickard, significant mention is made of the native's growing dependence on the mission. He said: "When we were leaving [on vacation] some of the people learned what they did not know before—how dependent they had grown upon the missionary. One old woman was sure that unless a few taraxicum pills were given to her to keep in store for a sick day, we should never meet again. So scores came with similar requests—a gathering to be lanced, a proud sore burned, or a favourite dose for a dreaded attack. . . . Amid a deal of genuine service there is more than a little loaves-and-fishes service, too; but even this is likely to become the stepping stone to the higher service."⁹¹ Here is revealed a source of strength which the missionaries were not slow in exploiting. By insinuating themselves into the daily life of the natives, they advanced gradually to a paternalistic position from which they could exert a greater measure of influence over the whole culture. The syncretism of mission and native folkways grew from a wider foundation than that of religious institutions alone.

CONFLICT AND ADJUSTMENT

While the mission sought to establish white supremacy in the islands, and especially mission supremacy, by the formula of Christian kindness and the brotherhood of man, other whites were relying on more forceful methods of persuasion. Blood was shed and lives were lost on both sides during the initial stages of contact from a variety of causes. The fact

⁹¹ Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 230.

that not all of these causes were apparent to the whites gained for the native an evil reputation. Was he a blood-thirsty savage looking for every opportunity to kill strangers out of sheer joy of murder? Or, was he a relatively supine and cowardly being who resorted to attack only when flagrantly provoked? Neither of these extremes fits the cases. There is no record of taboos in native culture on the killing of strangers. And, on the other hand, what we should regard as trivial events did occasionally lead to the murder of whites. There are too many variables, however, in each situation of armed resistance or attack to allow our drawing fixed conclusions as to the aggressive or non-aggressive nature of the New Guinea native. Romilly has recorded an impression from his own experience which implicates both groups. He says: "It is always more agreeable to have dealings with natives who do not know white men . . . Those who have had no experience of the white man have no injuries to avenge though they sometimes may attempt a stranger's life out of pure curiosity."⁹²

The comment of Captain Wawn may serve as a warning to those who would make hasty generalizations placing the blame for hostile relations with the whites on the native's shoulders. He says, "Guileless persons love to represent the South Sea Islander as a grown up child; but he is one who would prove a deal of trouble to his parents." The assumption of a paternalistic role by the whites and the difficulties which ensued bear out this practical man's contention. Let us examine more closely some of the underlying and immediate causes of conflict to see whether they present any uniformities.

One of the principal sources of controversy and conflict between members of the white and native groups lay in the manner in which Europeans acquired land. The difference in concepts of land tenure and ownership was a frequent cause of serious misunderstandings. The missionaries showed more regard for the natives' point of view in this respect than others of the white population. "Nothing in the islands brings trouble upon strangers sooner," says Danks, "than a tactless method in connection with the buying and occupancy of land."⁹³ As the missionaries went about it, it was a slow process. First the native owners or those who had authority to dispose of the land had to be located. Then the fundamentals of European laws of property were expounded, to make per-

⁹² H. H. Romilly, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

⁹³ W. Deane (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 26.

fectly clear that ownership meant not only ownership of the trees on the land, or usufruct of the land simply while it was under cultivation, but outright possession. Payment was made only after these matters had been thoroughly aired. Even after the pay had been given, difficulties might arise if, as happened not seldom, the former owners changed their minds.

The seriousness of this problem is well illustrated by an outbreak in the Duke of York Group which cost the lives of three whites and many natives. A German naturalist, who came with two white assistants, had purchased land from natives in the Duke of York Group. Kleinschmidt's attitude toward native concepts of land ownership was the antithesis of that of the mission. In a letter to the Rev. Danks he stated his views as follows: "The mission which came here to teach the natives a good many affairs in life as they appear proper and more decent to the white man should certainly also make the natives understand the nonsense of the notion, and tell them that land bought and sold according to rules all over the world elsewhere means the ground and trees, fruits, etc. on the land; and the whites will buy only with that or some such understanding."⁹⁴ In attempting to enforce these views—driving natives off the land which he had "bought"—Kleinschmidt and his colleagues met their end.

Quarrels resulting in the death of Europeans by native spears or muskets were not isolated events which were of no importance to the rest of the population. The killing of white men seemed to light a fuse of dissatisfaction which spread from village to village, igniting veritable prairie fires of hatred against the whites. Rumors circulated freely at such times to the effect that the natives were rising in arms to drive the whites from the land. It is not to be wondered that the Europeans united to teach the natives a lesson in obedience when their work and lives seemed threatened. The natives could not stand up to the armed and organized force of the whites in a showdown.

The ruthless methods of some traders and planters in their dealings with the natives were yet other causes of violence and bloodshed. From our survey of the aboriginal culture we learned that small incidents very frequently led to murder and blood feuds. In native culture the authority of force was a busy court of appeal. It is not surprising to find this trait carried over into the natives' dealings with Europeans. Three of planter Farrell's white overseers were killed by natives in a dispute rising out of the demand for the production of more copra. Another case arose simply

⁹⁴ Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 152.

from a native's stupid refusal to leave the house of Captain Champion, a trader on Blanche Bay. The Captain finally struck the boy and drew blood. Toti, the village headman, then intervened and angry words were passed. Suddenly Toti struck at Champion with his tomahawk, whereupon the Captain shot Toti. The armed villagers, who had straightway assembled, rushed the house, forcing the Captain and his Polynesian mistress to flee to his ship for safety. Cheated of their victims, the mob looted and burned the store. When the mission was informed of these events, it intervened and persuaded the natives to return the loot. An exchange of gifts between the Captain and the natives, arranged by the mission, took place over Toti's grave. Thus peace was again established.⁹⁵

From 1872 to 1884, the natives of the Blanche Bay district were experiencing the domineering presence of these white-skinned newcomers. There was no locally organized governmental authority in the land which would guarantee contracts, settle disputes between natives and whites, or draw up a body of rules to govern relations between the two races during this period. European naval vessels called frequently in the Archipelago, and at times assisted in punitive expeditions against hostile tribes. The trader, Hernsheim, was made a German consul at Matupi Island,⁹⁶ and Romilly served as Deputy Commissioner of the Western Pacific for the British. These representatives of European powers were interested primarily in the conduct of nationals of their own countries. They had no authority in international law to govern the territory nor were they empowered to control the native population. In short, it was every man for himself with only the dictates of his own conscience, the instructions of his firm or mission, and his reason as guides. Traders and planters sought markets for their goods and labor for their plantations, recruiters sought the strongest young men, and missionaries went about their task of making Christians out of cannibals—each in his own way. Yet despite the absence of a constituted authority and all its legal trappings, whites and natives adjusted to one another and survived. Antagonisms at times overreached cooperation, but white enterprise persisted, and difficulties were resolved by peaceable means more often than by force.

It has been said that "the human race has survived in new regions

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 127-30, 131-4.

⁹⁶ Other German officials were stationed, from time to time, in the region. A naval officer, for example, sought to make Blanche Bay a coaling station for German war sloops. The German consul general at Apia, Samoa, recognizing his country's interest in the group, sent Commissioner von Oertzen to Matupi Island in June 1884 (H. Schnee, *op. cit.*, p. 64).

largely by its ability to imitate and adapt to its own ends the adjustments of neighbors."⁹⁷ In colonial America this process has been termed Indianization. Similarly we find that the early whites in New Guinea made use of adjustments from the native culture. Parkinson used the *komara* system to recover stolen goods.⁹⁸ Peace treaties were concluded between whites and natives in the manner commonly used by the latter.⁹⁹ And native women were taken as mistresses.¹⁰⁰ These adjustments, however, were not of such a fundamental nature that without them whites could not have inhabited the land. They appear to be simply concessions which the whites allowed the natives in order to maintain good will and amicable relations, or else were the means of self-gratification. In the self-sufficiency of the white men as a group in New Guinea we see a characteristic common in tropical frontiers. White society grew only by immigration; and its essentially exploitative nature gave it an air of impermanence which only growing investment and organized government could set aside.

Obviously, many types of personality were represented among the earliest white residents. A missionary reports that "not all the white residents in the group were bad, although the majority were rough, uncouth men who gravitated there because the place allowed a license they could not find elsewhere."¹⁰¹ Romilly, sounding a less sanctimonious note, states that "The trader class in the Pacific has improved wonderfully in the last few years. The Germans, especially, are many of them well-educated young men who are sent out, first to act as clerks in the big houses, and then to take charge of a station."¹⁰² It is more than probable that the adjustments which such a diverse group of men required the natives to make showed considerable variation. Yet the interests which they served demanded that they secure the cooperation of the natives. Thus antagonisms had to be overcome in the interests of commercial and spiritual success. Such outbursts as that of the missionary, Rickard, who said, "The awful demoralizing consequences of the visits of some of the sailors [i.e., recruiters], I can only hint at and turn from the

⁹⁷ J. G. Leyburn, *Frontier Folkways*, p. 12.

⁹⁸ R. Parkinson, *Dreissig Jahre in der Südsee*, p. 60. Danks tried a similar native method of detecting a thief with poor results; he lost a good cook-boy who was accused and later found to be innocent (see W. Deane (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 106).

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 130-1, *passim*.

¹⁰⁰ J. Lyng, *op. cit.*, *passim*; J. Lyng, *Island Films*, *passim*.

¹⁰¹ W. Deane, (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 52.

¹⁰² H. H. Romilly, *The Western Pacific and New Guinea*, p. 206.

subject,"¹⁰³ are moralistic red herrings which do not mislead the social investigator blessed with hindsight. The still-functioning native societies of the Blanche Bay district are witnesses of his over-emphasis. It obviously takes more than a few white rogues to cause cataclysmic changes in native cultures.

To summarize, then, we may say that in the first period of contact between natives and Europeans, which we have described in this chapter, there existed the need for controlling the native population if the exploitative and missionary aims of the whites were to be realized. This need, however, was not fulfilled by the coming together of the whites to form a government of their own. Three factors existed which inhibited such an adjustment. First, the whites had come as individuals to further each his own economic status. They were not political or religious exiles who were intent on founding a new home in the land. They did not sever all ties with their homelands, but looked forward to the day when they could return as men of property. Second, the whites were few in number and scattered over a limited region as to their locations. The only bonds existing to unite them were the dangers of a general native uprising and periodic visits for purposes of recreation. Third, in the virtual absence of prohibitions by some higher authority, the whites had worked out individual adjustments with the natives which allowed them greater scope in their dealings with the latter. Neither Berlin, Canberra, or Rabaul could dictate policies which might interfere with profits.

On the plantations, at missions, and at the stations of factors and traders, the control of native employees was assumed by the whites. The basis of these relationships was the indenture system, although no neutral authority fixed the term of labor, guaranteed wages, or witnessed a formal document. The white man acted as overseer of his own labor line and directly controlled the workaday activities of those under him. If the relations that exist today between Europeans and natives in the outstations are a criterion of what they were in the pre-governmental period—and I think that they are comparable—there must have been wide variations in the manner of treatment which different groups of natives received. Some are managed by whites who are harsh and intolerant; hence they live in continual fear of corporal punishment. Others, working for lenient masters—men who make an effort to understand the native's mental outfit—live in quite a different atmosphere.

¹⁰³ Quoted in W. Deane (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 245.

Traders and planters were interested in the natives economically; the latter's services and what they produced were of primary importance to them. Native folkways which had no apparent bearing on their new duties could be disregarded so long as the natives brought copra and shell to exchange for knives, calico, and beads, and furnished "boys" for work when they were needed. While these conditions were fulfilled, the planter-trader could abide by a policy of *laissez-faire*.

Not so the missionary. He had to exert his authority over other aspects of the native culture, and among people whom the planter-traders had not approached. More conscious attempts to control all departments of native life were made by the mission than by the other white groups.

Besides the direct control of the indentured native by the white overseer, there was also the indirect influence the latter exerted over the free villagers. The wants of the native—tobacco, iron tools, cloth, beads, etc.—brought him into a state of more or less economic dependence. Such goods could be stolen, but punitive expeditions made it clear to the native that it was less painful to come by them in the manner stipulated by the whites. If he wanted the new luxuries, he had to offer goods and services in exchange. Moreover, the boys who went to work for the white man were hostages for the good conduct of their tribe.

The inauguration of European government in the territory by no means resolved all of the disturbing forces unleashed by white enterprise and settlement in this land. In fact, it called forth a whole new set of problems and adjustments for the native with further penalties and punishments if he failed to conform. However, German occupation of the land, which introduced a new class or group—that of the government official—in the white population—may be taken as a convenient point in the history of the country at which to summarize the social effects of the early contacts.

CONCLUSION

A question which serves to open up the whole field of race and culture contact to the sociologist in any particular area is: Did the native population survive?

Much has been written regarding the alleged decline of populations in the South Pacific prior to European contact.¹⁰⁴ Although certain of the

¹⁰⁴ Roberts summarizes the prevalent ideas of a decade or more ago, stating, "It is fairly clear that the races were enervated and declining before the Europeans came;

islands may have shown evidence of such a trend, the complete absence of census data from aboriginal New Guinea prohibits the acceptance of any final conclusion. Nor is there evidence to show that the pioneer whites introduced new epidemic diseases which decimated the population. Certainly, however, the natives did not become "supine and nerveless" when the "debased brutishness" of their culture felt the impact of new values through contact with whites.¹⁰⁵

Although conclusive proof of changes in either native physiology or the size of the population aggregates cannot be produced, we may point, in the light of evidence given above, to cultural changes during this early period. Certain trends appear in native-white social relations which mark the channels in which social evolution was moving.

A fundamental condition to which the natives had to adapt themselves was that the white men were determined to stay in the land. Threats and open attacks could not dislodge them as a group. Individuals might be killed, but the group retaliated, thus preserving and re-emphasizing its superiority. White settlement was a conquest even though it was effected piecemeal rather than by an organized military force.

Germes of what was to become a rigid caste system were sown in these pioneer days. The differences between European and native in culture, skin color, and wealth of tools and materials divided sharply the blacks and whites. The whites formed a caste in their own eyes from the very beginning. The term of address a native used in speaking to a white "master" signified to the latter his superior position. Any familiarity on the part of the native was discouraged if not punished. On the other hand, the natives had to learn that their position was inferior, for in the first contacts they treated the newcomers as equals. Betel nut was offered and sometimes chewed as a peace token when the whites were not sure of their position.

The economic structure of native society was altered in those villages

however the latter greatly accentuated the decline both physically and psychologically" (S. H. Roberts, *Population Problems of the Pacific*, p. xviii).

The best and most recent summary of the problem of depopulation in Pacific islands is to be found in H. I. Hogbin, *Experiments in Civilization*, Chapter V. Another critical review of older theories—in the light of material from the New Hebrides—is in T. Harrison, *Savage Civilization*, pp. 261-80.

¹⁰⁵ See S. H. Roberts, *op. cit.*, p. 63. Roberts's otherwise commendable summary of the native problems of the Pacific Islands is marred by his too ready acceptance of antiquated opinions—such as that of W. H. R. Rivers—concerning alleged psychological determinants of population decline.

which were within the sphere of white enterprise. In the indenture system, whether the recruits worked on overseas plantations or in the territory, a new way was offered whereby young men could acquire wealth. The temporary removal of manpower from the village economy was partially offset by the introduction of more efficient tools of iron and steel which lightened the labors of those who remained at home. Those villages from which recruits were taken or which brought their surplus produce to the trade stores received European goods in exchange. Such items as tobacco, salt, axes, and calico acquired value in the eyes of natives and were incorporated in their systems of exchange and wealth. Through the channels of purely native trade, other tribes, which had no direct contact with Europeans, also came into possession of these articles. Pfeil¹⁰⁶ reported that trade in European goods was much more lively between native and native than between white and native. Even the fashion of wearing *laplap* spread to tribes in the remote interior of the Gazelle Peninsula before whites had penetrated to their villages.¹⁰⁷ Still another factor in the changing economy of native life was the introduction by the whites of new food plants and fruits previously unknown in the country.

Changes in the aboriginal economy were followed by new desires for European goods among work-boys and their relatives in the villages. The indentured laborers who returned to the Duke of York Group from Queensland introduced a new scale of values for manual labor. Previous to their return the local men had worked all day for a single stick of "nigger head," as American twist tobacco was called. After hearing from the "blackbirders" how much pay they had received in Australia, local workers held out for more. Simultaneously they demanded better quality in their trade goods: instead of clay pipes they asked for black briars; instead of fan-tail axes, costly American models; instead of percussion muskets, breech-loading Sniders. And the demand for calico, especially a type called "Turk red," increased.¹⁰⁸

The social organization of native societies was influenced less directly by the advent of Europeans. Ties of community and blood on which the social structures were based maintained their importance. The removal of recruits suspended the kinship duties of those involved and at times

¹⁰⁶ J. Pfeil, *Studien und Beobachtungen aus der Südsee*, p. 120.

¹⁰⁷ P. A. Kleintitschen, *Die Küstenbewohner der Gazellehalbinsel*, pp. 35-6.

¹⁰⁸ O. Finsch, *Samoafahrten*, p. 26.

necessitated postponing of ceremonials. Attempts on the mission's part to suppress secret societies made headway and, in driving them underground, sapped their vitality. The status of women also was altered by mission device. The taking of native mistresses was practiced by some of the whites; it was not, however, a factor of great consequence in the changing social system.

The embryonic political organization of native cultures suffered a body blow when white men settled in the land. The limited power of chiefs was further reduced by the whites, especially by missionaries who became the dominant authority as arbiters and directors of community activities. Suppression of the secret societies robbed them of their powers of social control, oppressive as they may have been. Warfare and cannibalism were restricted if not abolished.

As for religion, we may see the lines of development laid down for the native cultures by the missions, although it is hard to see how much progress has been made in this direction. The Christian concepts of God and Hell seem to have been accepted before the belief in sorcery and the existence of spirits of the dead was abandoned. The teaching in church schools, though heavily weighted on the Biblical side, paved the way for native acceptance of European education.

The history of European colonization has been interpreted in terms of land-hunger. The story has been facetiously summarized by saying, "When the white man came he owned the Bible and the colored man the land. In time the white man became owner of the land and his colored brother owner of the Bible." Although this neat exchange seems to have taken place in many parts of the world, it does not hold true in New Guinea. For in New Guinea today the colored man still has the great preponderance of his land and, if he wants it, the Bible too. How this has been made possible will be the subject of the following chapters. It would seem that the European's earth-hunger in New Guinea has suffered from tropical indigestion brought on by unprecedented governmental intervention.

CHAPTER IV

NATIVE ADMINISTRATION,¹ GERMAN: 1884-1914

CHRONOLOGY

1884—GERMAN ANNEXATION

1884-1899—ADMINISTRATION BY NEU-GUINEA KOMPAGNIE

1899-1914—ADMINISTRATION BY GERMAN COLONIAL GOVERNMENT

INTRODUCTION

The conquistadores of New Spain, at the very beginning of modern imperialistic history, found themselves faced with what is now known as the "native problem." But those arrogant hidalgos had been in their graves for more than three centuries when other white men, coming from a much changed Europe, began the modern conquest of New Guinea. The first Spaniards in the New World were mainly interested in booty and conquest, and, some of them, in the conversion of the heathen to the Christian faith. Excepting the priests, they depended heavily upon force of arms to attain these objectives. Only their private scruples and the terms of such military pacts as they voluntarily entered served as regulators of their behavior.

In the conquest of New Guinea, which is still in progress, the aims of the modern "conquistadores of the coconut" differ nominally, but not essentially, from those of their Spanish prototypes. Instead of the armored buccaneers and blackrobes of the Spanish Conquest, in New Guinea we find agricultural experts, mining engineers, and medical missionaries.

¹ The term "native administration," as used in this and the following chapters, should be taken to mean the institutions of government and measures for social control that have been set up by European governments for the natives to follow. It signifies administration *for* rather than *by* natives. In this respect the term differs from its use in certain parts of Africa where natives have an important role in their own regulative bodies.

Neither their modern methods nor their modern rationalizations, however, can hide the fact that they too are interested in land, loot, and native souls. Now, however, they call these things "development of natural resources," and "native welfare."

The Spaniards introduced and perfected specific institutional adjustments by which they sought to stabilize their investments in the New World: military rule, the *encomienda*, and the "fleet and fair" system. These patterns had their day and were succeeded by other institutional adaptations. In later times, adventurers, traders, and missionaries from other European nations, representing a different type of culture, subdued indigenous populations in other backward areas of the world. They, like the Spanish before them, sought the best means of adapting their interests to those of the strange peoples they encountered. The culture-system of the Dutch in Java, the paternalistic trade-monopoly of the Danes in Greenland, the trade-alliances of the French and Indians in eastern Canada, and the removal treaties of the English in America and Australia were among the more prominent politico-economic devices by which, it was hoped, the "native problem" would be solved.

Although we find no fundamental difference between the aims of the earliest and the latest conquistadores, we can differentiate between the methods the two groups have employed for achieving their respective goals. The newer methods of subjugating native populations have to be judged in the light of an altered regard for the material and spiritual welfare of aboriginal peoples.² Herein lies the essential difference between older and more recent colonizing ventures. Formerly, when the forces at the command of groups in contact were more evenly matched, neither side could give quarter lightly. Nowadays, however, governmental consolidation precedes trading and missionary activities, and imposes many restrictions on them. In other words, modern colonization is politically controlled, and the government makes a purposeful attempt to keep it under strict regulation.

New Guinea natives have received, on the whole, a far better "break"

² A study of the changes in the attitudes toward natives of the colonizing European nations during the past four centuries is a problem in social evolution that would require extended treatment by itself. Specifically, to show the trends in their attitudes toward primitive peoples during the historic period of European exploration and colonization would entail examination of a vast amount of factual materials. That there have been trends in European thought toward a more humanitarian regard for subject peoples is generally acknowledged, but how closely overt behavior has followed changes in professed ideals is a problem that still requires extensive research.

than many other primitive peoples in their relations with Europeans. This is attributable only in part to the fact that the white men have come to a belated, nonetheless effective, realization that they have an economic stake in the welfare of the natives; for, in endowing natives with legal rights, the Europeans have gone far beyond what we might expect on purely economic grounds. The substance of protective regulations rises well above the plane of mere consistency with profit-seeking motives. White immigration to New Guinea has had economic aggrandizement as its major ulterior motive, to be sure. Yet over and above the lure of profits, a new regard for human rights, particularly in respect to problems of native welfare, is apparent.

Broadly viewed today, the major consequence of European immigration to New Guinea has been the development of caste stratification, which has resulted from the coming together of widely divergent racial and cultural groups. The contact of Europeans and New Guinea aborigines—groups radically different in ethnic and cultural heritage—has not only paved the way for this stratification, but has incidentally produced many changes in aboriginal society. These will be considered in a later chapter.³ Our task here is to investigate how the juxtaposition and interaction of white and native has made possible the erection of rigid barriers of caste, and how the white caste has made itself the dominant one.

The prevailing white caste today is composed of less than 6,000 Europeans—a thin lid, as it were, on the kettle of 580,000 Oceanic blacks.⁴ Carrying this metaphor a step farther, we may say that by themselves the blacks form a melting-pot wherein the many different native cultures, fired by the brands of European impingement, are slowly being boiled down into a general, Territory-wide, “kanaka culture.”⁵ This is being achieved not only by cross-fertilization of native cultures, but also by parallel adjustments on the part of the various tribes of aborigines to the demands and regulations of the ruling caste. This means that two types of acculturation are going on at the same time in modern New Guinea: first, acculturation on the primitive level, taking place between tribe and

³ See Chapter VI.

⁴ The non-indigenous population on June 30, 1938 totalled 6,283 persons, of whom 1,929 were Asiatics (predominantly Chinese). Exclusive of Asiatics, there was a total European population of 4,354—2,922 male, and 1,432 female (See *Report to the Council of the League of Nations* (1939), p. 131.)

⁵ This is the term I have chosen to designate the part-European, part-native culture of the work-boy, or indentured laborer.

tribe;⁶ and, second, acculturation coming about through contact between whites and natives, or through the mutual adjustments of the members of the one racial and cultural group to the other.⁷

Culture contact and change on the primitive level is proper subject matter for ethnology in the strict sense. In what follows, however, we have taken as our field the broader phase of contact of the second type mentioned, that which involves Europeans and primitives. The dominance of the white masters of modern New Guinea is cultural in the broadest sense of the word, but more specifically it is political. We shall treat the matter of cultural dominance later on; in this chapter our purpose is to show how political dominance has been achieved, and how it has imposed an entirely new set of conditions on the life of the native societies. Examination of the evolution of methods employed to control the native peoples sheds revealing light on the forces at work in the progress of acculturation.⁸

PROTECTIVE PROHIBITIONS

We have already examined⁹ the initial phase of contact and change, namely, the mutual adjustments of the pioneer whites and native societies, and have pointed out that while these adjustments were institutional in nature they were largely unplanned and uncoordinated. We have seen that the early settlers in the Bismarck Archipelago adapted their requirements to the potentialities and capabilities of the indigenous peoples by

⁶ This was in progress long before white contact took place. European settlement has merely speeded up the process.

⁷ This distinction between the two types of acculturation is not precisely drawn in every case. For instance, Europeans have played an important part in assisting the cross-diffusion of aboriginal culture elements by bringing together in labor lines individual natives from widely scattered societies and by taking native employees with them into remote districts. In such ways purely aboriginal elements, such as methods of ornamentation, song, dances, and minor articles of material culture are spread. Radin has emphasized the same point in a preliminary discussion of the role of the white trader in the diffusion of aboriginal material culture traits throughout the Woodlands Area of North America (see "The Influence of the Whites on Winnebago Culture," *Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin* (1913), p. 145.).

⁸ The crude population figures of New Guinea in any year show a ratio of more than 100 natives to each individual European. This ratio should be regarded, however, in the light of the conditions stressed in Chapter I, namely, the fragmented nature of the total population. The true "ratio of control," therefore, is not deducible from census materials alone. The inability of the aboriginal groups to unite in effective political aggregates makes the problem of control much easier than would be apparent from population statistics. It is not one white man to 100 natives, but rather one white man to ten groups of ten natives each, or to twenty groups of five natives each.

⁹ Chapter III, above.

trial and error methods. They employed native workers in their commercial undertakings and maintained peace and order by the strength of arms of their own private police forces. The germs of state formation may well have existed in those amalgamated communities, composed of native villages under the political and economic domination of immigrant whites.¹⁰ The possibility of evolutionary development of this order was precluded, however, when Germany annexed the territory and imposed on it her own systems of colonial government.

Before the German flags which marked official annexation were raised on the islands of the Bismarck Archipelago and on the mainland coast, in 1884, the powers of administration in the new colony had already been assigned to the Neu-Guinea Kompagnie. This firm played an important part in the early history of the Protectorate, especially since the powers granted it were so extensive. Our concern, however, is not with the fortunes or inner workings of the company as such, but rather with the sociological effects of its decrees and acts on native culture. The various institutions set up by the company directly affected the natives by introducing new conditions and concepts which demanded particular adjustments.

The Imperial Charter (*Schutzbrief*) of May 17, 1885, which officially granted royal authority to the chartered company, contained two provisions of fundamental importance to the future status and government of the natives. The first was the prohibition imposed on supplying natives with either alcoholic liquors or firearms; the second was the provision which granted the company a monopoly in acquisition of land.¹¹

The great majority of New Guinea natives, as we have seen, had had no opportunity to acquire a taste for alcohol. Therefore, no difficulty was anticipated in making this part of the prohibition effective. The problem of firearms was somewhat more complicated, for many weapons—acquired by trade or theft—were in the natives' possession. By strictly

¹⁰ See F. Oppenheimer, *The State*, pp. 67-68. British North Borneo serves as an illustration.

¹¹ H. Schnee, *Bilder aus der Südsee*, pp. 31-32, 49, 67. The dangers of unrestricted sale of intoxicants to primitive peoples had been widely publicized in the *Kongokonferenz* of 1884-1885, to which all of the great European powers and the United States sent delegates. In Section I, Article 6, of the resulting *Kongoakte* (February 26, 1885) a number of broad humanitarian principles were laid down which were to guide the European colonial powers in their dealings with primitive races in Africa. These principles served as models for later efforts in the field, notably in German New Guinea (See *Deutsches Kolonial-Lexikon*, Vols. I and II, articles: "Alkohol," "Association Internationale African," "Kongoakte," "Kongokonferenz.").

controlling the sale of ammunition, however, this source of danger to both whites and natives was soon removed. Neglect and rust soon reduced the native-owned guns to useless pieces of scrap iron.¹²

LAND LAWS

Germany's relatively late entry into the sphere of colonial activity made it possible for her to avoid the errors of her predecessors in dealing with native affairs. The demoralizing effects of unrestricted sale of drinks, drugs, and firearms on primitive peoples were common knowledge in the late 19th century and the Germans wisely sought to impose strict prohibitions on such traffic. Another salient factor in culture contact situations which had caused endless maladjustment between European and primitive groups in the past had been the forceful expropriation of native lands. We have already seen that this had been recognized as a pregnant source of conflict among the pioneer settlers in New Guinea, and, moreover, that the missionaries in particular had quickly come to realize the importance of acknowledging native property concepts concerning land.¹³ The Germans were at least prepared, therefore, to take into consideration aboriginal concepts of ownership; this is not to say, however, that these were always respected. Among the earlier settlers it was commonly believed that all land which did not support gardens or a village was free property. This erroneous idea suited very well the aims of pioneer planters. Only a few discerning individuals were aware that almost no land on the coasts was without some individual or village claimant. What appeared to the whites to be an uninhabited area was often a sacred dwelling place of the ancestral spirits of some native tribe.¹⁴ The settling of Europeans on these sacred sections gave rise to serious inter-racial strife; and the manner in which German officialdom itself dealt with land problems often had far-reaching consequences.

¹² The prohibition on guns and liquor shows that the Germans aimed to profit by the disastrous experiences of other earlier colonizing powers. Approaching their problems of colonial rule from what Professor Keller has called the "learned standpoint," they were able to take steps which other nations had had to achieve through painful trial and error. Nevertheless, the over-formalized nature of their early rule, so often noted by German critics themselves (e.g., Pfeil, Blum, Neuhauss), comes out clearly in the matter of firearms. Although natives were not allowed to possess arms, they could, if employed, use those of their masters to hunt pot-game. A formal regulation required that each servant carry a hunting license at all times. To the distress of the efficient Teuton, a boy would, usually, either lose the slip on the first day or else use it as a cigarette paper (See R. Neuhauss, *Deutsch Neu-Guinea*, Vol. I, pp. 450-451.).

¹³ See Chapter III, p. 106.

¹⁴ R. Neuhauss, *Deutsch Neu-Guinea*, Vol. I, p. 180.

The original land laws of the German Protectorate were laid down in the Imperial *Schutzbrief* of May 17, 1885. This document¹⁵ granted the Neu-Guinea Kompagnie a monopoly in the acquisition of land, whether free or claimed by aborigines. One important provision in the decree stated that the company should make a preliminary investigation into the title of any land it desired to appropriate. After the right to ownership or usufruct had been clearly defined, the company might purchase the land from its owners or claimants.

In this manner the Neu-Guinea Kompagnie acquired great tracts of land from the natives, although the protective spirit of the law was not always observed.¹⁶ It had acted, moreover, as a responsible middleman in what was formerly direct purchase of land from natives. This was a new adjustment, and one in keeping with the spirit of German colonial administration.

Lack of financial success eventually forced the Neu-Guinea Kompagnie to surrender its position as the sole administrative and legislative agency in the Protectorate. Consequently, when it gave over its sovereign rights on April 1, 1899, the monopoly in land acquisition passed to the colonial government.¹⁷ By this time there had arisen a better understanding of the complexities of native property concepts, and the government was determined that they should not be ruthlessly disregarded. Legislation which came into force in 1902 introduced the principle that thenceforth purchases of land from the natives should be conditioned by clauses safeguarding the agricultural, hunting, fishing, or other customary occupations of the natives selling the land. Furthermore, the Government proclaimed itself the sole purchasing agent.¹⁸

Thereafter a single mode of procedure was laid down which every free colonist who wished to take up land had to follow. After selecting the area desired, he obtained the preliminary consent of the native owners to the sale. Then he approached the Government with the request that it make the purchase on his behalf. If, after investigation, the Government was satisfied that the natives were not acting under coercion, or

¹⁵ See P. Decharme, *Compagnies et Sociétés Coloniales Allemandes*, p. 152.

¹⁶ S. S. Mackenzie, *The Australians at Rabaul*, p. 275. The natives who had sold these lands were allowed to remain on them. If the plantation efforts of the company had proved a success and had justified expansion, the removal or crowding-off of these tribes from their ancestral lands would doubtless have raised serious problems.

¹⁷ H. Schnee, *op. cit.*, p. 363.

¹⁸ S. S. Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, pp. 274-275.

were selling more land than they actually needed for their own support, it closed the deal with them. Then the land was sold or leased to the individual buyer.¹⁹

This system had several drawbacks, as critics did not hesitate to point out.²⁰ It is undeniable, however, that the natives profited greatly by the protection which the new laws offered. No longer was it possible for them to accept a few trade goods for what they thought to be temporary occupation on the part of the whites, only to find out later that the whites had no intention of moving. The Government confirmed the freehold tenure of the lands of pioneer whites and the chartered company, but set itself up as a firm regulator of further alienation of native land. In the matter of land laws, then, we again see the Government interceding on behalf of the natives as their protector.

CONFLICT AND THE NEED FOR CONTROL

When the Neu-Guinea Kompagnie was established in the Protectorate, it found the eastern islands of the Bismarck Archipelago already occupied by a few white planters and entrepreneurs. Thinking, then, that the mainland would offer better opportunities for expansion, it acquired land along the Madang coast, laid out towns, and started plantations. Heretofore this section, and indeed the entire mainland, had been the scene of no permanent contact between natives and Europeans.²¹ What contact there was, in both areas, had been virtually restricted to the tribes of eastern New Britain and New Ireland. Although the Company had a police force of its own, consisting of a troop of imported Malays, this body was kept at the center of activities on the mainland, the islands being left without police control. It is not surprising, therefore, that natives contrived to show their resentment over the intrusions and deprivations following on European settlement by resorting periodically to armed uprisings. During the first quarter-century of European settle-

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 273.

²⁰ The white colonists, in particular, found its checks and regulations a hindrance (See J. Pfeil, *Studien und Beobachtungen aus der Südsee*, p. 275). S. S. Mackenzie (*op. cit.*, Chapter XVII, pp. 273-286) gives the best summary of German land policy. A member of the Australian Expeditionary Force and of the later Military Administration of former German New Guinea, Mackenzie's legal training led to his being selected as the one to make an investigation into the legal status of landed property in New Guinea.

²¹ Mikluko-Maclay, the Russian scientist, had lived on the Madang coast in 1871-1872, and might be given the courtesy title of first European settler.

ment, almost every German factory and plantation is said to have experienced bloody incidents. Schnee²² composed a list of fifty-five Europeans killed during this period. This did not include cases in which whites had been merely wounded; nor did it indicate the much larger number of native work-boys and Asiatics who also met violent death at the hands of hostile aborigines. Skin-color was no protection whatsoever in these attacks, demonstrating clearly that the antipathies were cultural rather than racial.

Very little information is obtainable regarding the organization and direction of these native attacks. We do know where they took place; the locations show that the zone of danger was on the fringes of white settlement, halfway between the centers of European concentration and the wild bush-country. In these interstitial regions the lone trader ran the greatest risks, for here the natives were more sophisticated in their attitude toward the whites than in the back country. They had no superstitious fear of the masters; specifically, they knew that without their guns they were relatively helpless. Also, they knew the value of and greatly desired European weapons and material possessions.

A tentative conclusion, suggested by the material relating to a few cases of attack, is that natives with strong personalities, reacting more violently to the acculturation process than their fellows, frequently (if not always) were the instigators of raids on whites. Such leaders were not necessarily hostile chiefs or headmen; some had actually spent years in the employ of Europeans. Whatever their individual motivation, they had the ability to arouse the emotions of their people to such a pitch that the latter would seek to drive the whites out of the country.²³

²² *Op. cit.*, pp. 79-80. The enumerated European population at the opening of the twentieth century was 230 (H. Schnee, *ibid.*, p. 353; P. Decharme, *op. cit.*, p. 156).

²³ One native, who resided in a bush village behind Herbertshöhe (now Kokopo—on the Gazelle Peninsula), fomented considerable unrest among the people of his district. He had invented a salve called *mailu*, which he claimed to have the magical quality of deflecting white men's bullets when it was smeared on a person's body. He was captured before his invention caused a general uprising (*Deutsches Kolonialblatt. Amtsblatt für die Schutzgebiete des Deutschen Reichs*, Vol. IV (1893), p. 540).

S. K. Savage ("Some Details of the Gruesome Massacre at St. Paul," *Rabaul Times*, No. 18, August 21, 1925) gives a brief life-history of *To Maria*, the European-raised orphan who later led an attack in 1904 on a remote Catholic mission in the Baining Mountains. In this case nine Europeans and five native students were shot or clubbed to death, the largest single casualty list in the history of New Guinea.

R. Parkinson (*Dreissig Jahre in der Südsee*, pp. 375-376) cites a similar case of a very intelligent boy of Admiralty Island who received training for two years in a Blanche Bay Mission. When he was returned to his native village he caused so much trouble that the Government saw fit to banish him to Kavieng.

What can be said of reasons for native hostility? The reports of early skirmishes seldom delve deeply into the question of motives or causation. Such explanations as have been offered are usually suspect because of lack of sympathetic understanding of native culture on the part of the reporter. Nevertheless, the facts do show that attacks were regularly organized by small groups of natives—usually members of a single village—for revenge and for plunder. The revenge motive was not new; it had played a dominant part in native warfare long before the coming of the white man. Desire for loot offered many excuses for its reappearance. The European's misconception of native custom—particularly in the sphere of sexual behavior—led him into transgressions against native mores that had to be atoned.²⁴ Many whites, moreover, arbitrarily took the law into their own hands, even to the extent of committing murder.²⁵

Revenge adequately explains many of the attacks that occurred. It is all the more justifiable as an explanation for the reason that it was a mainspring of action in comparable aboriginal situations.

The presence of Europeans with large stocks of desirable trade goods, however, brought in a new type of native raid, that for plunder. Neuhauss²⁶ states that natives stole from whites chiefly because they believed the latter had so many things that a few pilfered trifles would not be missed. This attitude easily led them into organized raids for booty.²⁷

These cases, when looked at in conjunction with those of outstanding American Indian leaders who fought the whites (Pontiac, Tecumseh, Sitting Bull, Captain Jack), suggest that while the individual is generally the innovator of social change, he may also be the focus or rallying point of the most spirited resistance to change.

²⁴ H. Schnee, *op. cit.*, pp. 261-262. "Die Händler kennen meist sehr wenig von den Sitten und Gebräuchen der Eingeborenen unter denen sie leben." Schnee himself knew natives.

²⁵ It is said that in remote districts, where contacts with the government officers are infrequent, this still occurs today. It is generally agreed that court trials of Europeans for the murder of natives offer no real index of the prevalence of homicide. After hearing many expressions of opinion on this subject by white residents of New Guinea, I feel certain that the moral sanction against murder carries considerably less force in the case of a native than of another European. One white man I knew candidly said that he planned to "get" a certain native—a trouble-maker in his village—when and if the opportunity arose. Another European volunteered the statement that it was a sad state of affairs if a native could not be killed on the spot for striking a white man.

²⁶ *Op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 312.

²⁷ H. Schnee, *op. cit.*, pp. 181-183, gives a case of this sort from the Admiralty Islands. Both Parkinson and Danks have recorded others.

A personal communication from R. Thurnwald, who had had wide experience in New Guinea both before and after the War of 1914-18, is pertinent. He advised against taking a large supply of trade goods into remote villages that had had little contact with whites.

The revenge motive might also be operative in specific instances of plunder. In any case, the results of such raids were, first, to increase temporarily the wealth of the village or villages involved and, second, to bring on themselves early punishment and more strict measures of external control.

It mattered little to the German authorities what circumstances had preceded the murder of Europeans. Wherever possible, such an affair was utilized to provide a lesson in the inviolability of the lives of white men and in the swift execution of punishment on those who ignored this principle. In almost every case of this sort, punitive expeditions were sent out to atone for the acts, and incidentally to cow the natives into submission by an impressive display of force. After the murder of a trio of white men in the Duke of York Islands, for example, 750 white troops from a visiting German squadron marched across the island.²⁸ German war vessels frequently shelled islands on which atrocities had occurred, but rarely did such a procedure have a lasting effect.²⁹ It was only when punitive expeditions went into the native villages themselves with torch and rifle, burning the dwellings and killing those who had not fled, that the natives really began to understand what were the forces which the white man had at his disposal and when they would be invoked.

German officials and private observers made no effort to conceal the number of native lives exacted in the interest of peace.³⁰ For the murder of two white men and eight native employees in the St. Matthias Group

He said that while a great stock of goods would not necessarily induce the villagers to attack, it would be safer to take along only enough trade articles for our immediate needs.

Dr. Whiting had an experience in the semi-controlled village of Tangwishamp which seems to corroborate the principle summed up in Dr. Thurnwald's advice. He happened to have taken with him into this village several boxes of trade goods. The Tangwishamp were not at all friendly, and Whiting's carriers took fright. They reported that they had overheard the Tangwishamp men plotting to kill the whole party in order to seize the boxes. Whether or not this rumor indicated any real plan, it does show that murder for plunder is a part of the modern native's thought-pattern.

²⁸ W. Deane (ed.), *In Wild New Britain*, p. 271.

²⁹ H. Schnee, *op. cit.*, p. 166. When the Germans once shelled a small island of the Admiralty Group the inhabitants, instead of taking it as a lesson, merely went about their planting and used the broken ground of the shell holes as gardens for their taro.

³⁰ This is changed today under the present Government, for the Administration of the Mandated Territory must submit an annual report to the Permanent Council of the League of Nations. Hostile criticism of what the world press might regard as useless and wanton sacrifice of human life has made the Australian Government hypersensitive on this score. The work of punitive expeditions is therefore reported briefly, if not neglected entirely, in the *Annual Reports*.

a government expedition killed eighty-one natives, burned their huts and canoes, and removed a few women and children as prisoners to Herbertshöhe.³¹ Again, when a German bird-of-paradise hunter was killed in Wamba village, on Huon Gulf, the subsequent *Strafexpedition* laid waste the village and left forty dead.³² Another instance occurred at Kabien, on northern New Ireland, where a European and his Japanese assistant had been killed. Most of the village fled to the bush before the arrival of the punitive expedition; six natives were all that could be rounded up to be shot. Then the canoes were demolished and the dwellings burned.³³

These cases, selected as random samples from among many, show that the Germans did not accept the concepts of simple retaliation on which aboriginal warfare had been based. No exact scale of values, or ratio, of European life in comparison with aborigines' lives can be worked out; but one inevitably receives the impression that native life was cheap in German times as compared with white life. The fifty-five white victims of native attacks were certainly revenged many times over by the far greater number of natives killed in retaliation.³⁴

³¹ H. Schnee, *op. cit.*, p. 180; H. Nevermann, *St. Matthias-Gruppe*, pp. 7-8.

³² R. Neuhauss, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 441.

³³ H. Schnee, *op. cit.*, pp. 255-257.

³⁴ The problem of the "fitness" of Germans as administrators of primitive peoples has been argued pro and con since the very beginning of their colonizing activities. The question is one that practically defeats scientific investigation, because "fitness," "good administration," and similar terms are abstractions with only a relative connection to overt behavior. For general accounts we have Giesebrecht's balanced survey of German treatment of their subject peoples (*Die Behandlungen der Eingeborenen*), on the one hand, and the Great Britain Foreign Office's biased *Treatment of Natives in German Colonies*, on the other. Keller's summary statement ("The Beginnings of German Colonization," *Yale Review* (May, 1901), pp. 30-52) that the Germans (at the turn of the century) governed with "sternness and justice" is a fair assertion when applied to the Germans in New Guinea. Without attempting to define these terms more closely (we have seen what "sternness" meant), we quote a few impressions of writers with first-hand experience in New Guinea.

Danks states (W. Deane (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 271) that the Germans were not "men of blood and iron." "They were anxious to avoid bloodshed as far as possible, and took every precaution to save the people from the consequences of their own savage folly." Both Neuhauss and Behrmann were as just in their dealings with natives as could be wished. Behrmann's large expedition, which spent a year and a half on the Upper Sepik River, had cause to execute only one native during its entire stay. Champion has words of praise for the conduct of this party and credits his peaceful meetings fifteen years later with the natives of the Upper Sepik to the intelligent treatment they had earlier received. Such a statement from a Britisher carries some weight (See I. F. Champion, *Across New Guinea from the Fly to the Sepik*, p. 238).

INDIRECT RULE AND THE LULUAI SYSTEM

Many tribes on the fringe of white settlements, as we have seen, fell back on their own force of arms to avenge the breaking of their traditional taboos, for purposes of economic gain, and to drive the foreign invaders from their land. Not all, however, did so, for those nearer the well-established white settlements furnished young men as laborers for European stations and plantations. These youths thus became unwitting hostages whose well-being among the Europeans was thought by the natives to depend on the good behavior of their kin remaining in the villages.

The plans of the Neu-Guinea Kompagnie and other firms for agricultural exploitation of the country called for a large and stable supply of labor. This condition could not be achieved, however, while armed attacks continued to menace permanent interracial adjustment. "Strafing" parties caused violent breaks in the life of those villages meriting punishment; and, in themselves, they were no permanent guarantee of stability and cooperation. The Germans wanted conquest without conflict. Furthermore, for those villages which offered no open hostility to Europeans some system of rule under German authority was necessary.

The device adopted by the Germans to consolidate their position, whether it had been won by arms or by peaceful means, was a system of village government not unlike the adjustment known as indirect rule developed by the British in Africa.³⁵ There may be some doubt as to the validity of calling it a "system" in its early manifestations, but it was at least a general policy. The program was to allow the native to retain all of his traditional folkways which did not go contrary to the broad principles of nineteenth-century European morality.³⁶ The policy did not profess to leave native cultures untouched, for specific prohibitions were

³⁵ See F. D. Lugard, *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa*; D. Westermann, *The African Today*, pp. 165-177.

³⁶ H. Schnee (*op. cit.*, p. 89) says: "Bei der Rechtsprechung in Eingeborenensachen wurden die Rechtsgewohnheiten der Eingeborenen, soweit sie nicht gegen allgemeine deutsche Rechtsgrundsätze verstießen, in weitestem Umfange berücksichtigt."

Dr. Solf, German Colonial Secretary before the World War, stated the official attitude of the Government as follows: "The natives are our protégés and the German Government must for their sakes assume the obligation of making the interests of the natives its own. For we do not wish to exterminate the natives but to preserve them. This is the moral duty which we assumed when we hoisted the German flag . . . in the South Seas" (quoted in H. Schnee, *German Colonization, Past and Future*, pp. 92-93).



A Sepik River Native Hollowing Out a Dugout Canoe

[Chapter I]



Natives of the Upper Sepik River (Wogamush) Eager to trade with a Government Patrol

[Chapter I]



The Roman Catholic Mission at Sek, near Madang, which
dates from the German Period

[Chapter IV]



Morning Drill of the Native Constabulary Stationed at
Ambunti Police Post, Sepik River

[Chapter V]

placed on aboriginal customs held by the government to be anti-social. Cannibalism, head-hunting, inter-tribal warfare, and sorcery had to be checked before a stable society, in the European sense, could be achieved.³⁷ This "task of expurgation"³⁸ could not wait on education and enlightenment; it had to be undertaken forcibly, whether natives understood or not. Meetings of aboriginal secret societies were prohibited after it had come to light that plots against the lives of whites had been laid in such groups.³⁹

Penal sanctions could be invoked to check practices only in those communities which were in continuous contact with Europeans and under the close surveillance of the Government.⁴⁰ In order to extend its authority beyond such areas, the Government instituted the *luluai*⁴¹ system of village chiefs.

In the process of establishing a protectorate over Southeast Africa, Germany had in the ruling sultans a class of high local officials who could be induced to cooperate with the Government.⁴² In the New Guinea communities, however, there were no outstanding aboriginal rulers who might serve as puppet leaders. The absence of any widely recognized chiefs with authority extending beyond the limits of their clan or village made difficult the task of putting into operation any system of indirect rule. Only a few of the native groups possessed rudimentary chiefship; no native state governments existed on which to build the superstructure of white control.

The Neu-Guinea Kompagnie officials had followed the *laissez faire* principles of indirect rule in their dealings with natives, but they were not the initiators of the *luluai* system. Their policy, if it can be called such, seems to have been one of non-intervention so long as all went well.

³⁷ These were often the forces making for integration within specific aboriginal groups; but, on the other hand, they did militate against the formation of larger peace groups.

³⁸ F. E. Williams, *The Blending of Cultures*, p. 15. This observer states that the "functional value" of head-hunting and the rest has received a great deal of stress in the literature, almost to the exclusion of the effects such a practice has on the human quarry (*ibid.*, pp. 14-15, 22).

³⁹ H. Feldman, quoted in *Official Handbook of the Territory of New Guinea*, p. 412.

⁴⁰ Cannibalism was abolished at an early date on the coasts of the Gazelle Peninsula, but it went on for a much longer period in the interior (H. Schnee, *Bilder aus der Südsee*, p. 156).

⁴¹ *Luluai* is a word in the Blanche speech. In pre-European days it stood for a non-hereditary office which was filled by an outstanding warrior and man of wealth. *Kukurai*, the word for "chief" in the languages of North Bougainville, is sometimes heard in place of *luluai*. In Melanesian pidgin they are synonymous.

⁴² R. Thurnwald, *Black and White in East Africa*, p. 40.

Some of the directors were able men, but not one of them put forth a well-rounded *Eingeborenenpolitik* during the entire regime of the chartered company.

Dr. Hahl, the Imperial Judge at Herbertshöhe, was the inaugurator of this new scheme. Through it he hoped to establish and maintain jurisdiction over the natives. He assumed office in Herbertshöhe in 1896 and the following year appointed the first *luluai* in the Protectorate. When the Colonial Government took over control of the Protectorate from the Neu-Guinea Kompagnie in 1899, *luluais* were quickly appointed in a number of localities on the Gazelle Peninsula and the Duke of York Islands.⁴³

The *luluai* was selected by a government officer from the ranks of the elder and most influential men of the village. If there were no recognized leader of a village, the white officials had to choose one whose personality seemed to dominate the group. The individual chosen was given a peaked hat and silver-headed stick as insignia of office, and then informed of his functions.⁴⁴

The Government demanded of these headmen a few specific duties, including arbitration of minor disputes in the village, furnishing boys for Government labor recruiters, supervision of roads (if any), sanitary care of their respective villages, and collection of the annual head-tax. They received no salary, but were allowed to retain ten percent of all taxes collected.

Each *luluai* had an assistant, known as the *tultul*.⁴⁵ He also was chosen by the Government. The only qualification for the office was an ability to speak Melanesian pidgin, for the *tultul's* special duty was to act as interpreter between Government officials and the *luluai*.

The third and last official in the *luluai* system was the medical *tultul* (Melanesian pidgin, *dokta boi*). Strictly speaking, he was concerned solely with the health of the villagers, and was therefore not a part of the control system. He received training in simple first aid before his appointment was confirmed, and then worked for the Government at a salary of twenty marks a year. Although the medical *tultul* had no

⁴³ H. Blum, *Neu-Guinea und der Bismarckarchipel*, pp. 54-55.

⁴⁴ H. Schnee, *Bilder aus der Südsee*, p. 107; H. Schnee, *German Colonization, Past and Future*, p. 127; G. Pitt-Rivers, *The Clash of Cultures and the Contact of Races*, p. 234.

⁴⁵ *Tultul*, also from the Blanche Bay language, meant "messenger (or servant) of the *luluai*" in former times. In the system of indirect rule it was said of the office of *tultul*, "Die Funktion ist ehrenamtlich" (*Deutsches Kolonial-Lexikon*, Vol. III, article: "Polizeiverfugung").

legal powers, he was an active agent in the acculturation process. As a Government employee he had a special status in villages under contact, representing the new methods of treating disease, even though he might not follow them out in every case himself.

This was the system in brief. Theoretically, it operated as follows. The *luluai*, acting as the representative of the Administration in his village, saw to it that all governmental regulations and orders were carried out. He maintained order in his community, and reported to the Government any serious breach of the peace which he could not handle. He settled minor quarrels and adjudicated disputes over native property valued at less than twenty-five marks. The *tultul* served merely as a herald. He was the means of communication between the white officials and the village. The medical *tultul* cared only for the sick; he had no other part in the local government.

As the Government extended its influence, the *luluai* system, in this simple form, was gradually introduced into an increasing number of villages. The appointment of a *luluai* was, in fact, one of the principal means of bringing a village under governmental supervision and control. The investiture was made as impressive an event as possible so that the natives would not forget the power of the authority residing at Herbertshöhe.⁴⁶ Ideally the system was an incipient form of indirect rule, but in practice German district officers exercised all important magisterial powers.

JUSTICE

During the Neu-Guinea Kompagnie's administration, native discipline had been maintained in and around white settlements by means of a police force made up of imported Malays. This force was later augmented by the addition of local natives—particularly the Buka and Jabim. Hahl was the first government official to create a purely native police force, which was stationed at Herbertshöhe. Starting with a nucleus of forty natives in 1896, it was enlarged within the next four years to include one hundred members.⁴⁷ This cadre of police, and others like it which

⁴⁶ *Report to the Council of the League of Nations* (1923), pp. 39-40.

⁴⁷ H. Blum, *op. cit.*, p. 53. Hahl undoubtedly drew on the experience and example of Sir William Macgregor in neighboring British New Guinea, whose Armed Constabulary of natives was one of his greatest achievements during his governorship. An excellent summary of this and other aspects of Macgregor's work is presented by Jack Shepherd, *British New Guinea under Sir William Macgregor*, The Walter Frewen Lord Price Essay, University of Sydney, 1934 (in MS.).

sprang up in different stations, served as protection against native attack; it was also very useful for punitive patrol work. Having a knowledge of local conditions, and being thoroughly conversant with aboriginal methods of warfare and deception, the native police made it possible to catch and punish offenders who would formerly have escaped.⁴⁸ They were also used simply to impress natives with the power of the Government; no official went into remote districts without an armed retinue of uniformed police.⁴⁹

In the free villages, justice was dispensed on the spot by European officials according to their own lights.⁵⁰ But from the beginning of colonization, a need had been felt for some consistent method of punishing offences committed by employed natives, both against each other and against Europeans. It was realized from the start that European concepts of civil and criminal law were not suited to the totally different native notions of crime and justice. Nevertheless, the legal methods of punishment were entirely European in derivation.

Laws governing the conduct of employed natives were first promulgated on October 22, 1888.⁵¹ They allowed four types of disciplinary punishment, but specific regulations modified each type:

1. *The curtailment of food and luxuries.* (This was limited to periods of one week, and enough food had to be given to preserve life.)

2. *Overtime work.* (Not more than three hours daily, and three days weekly at the most.)

3. *Imprisonment with or without chains.* (Three days weekly at the most.)

4. *Corporal punishment.* (This method was to be used only as a last resort. Furthermore, only healthy men could be flogged, and the flogging had to be done by the *Stationsvorsteher* or his deputy. Records of all cases of corporal punishment had to be submitted monthly to the Governor. Capital punishment was permissible for serious crimes if the Chief Postal Official—the highest judge of the aborigines—gave his consent and the Governor concurred.)⁵²

⁴⁸ *Deutsches Kolonial-Lexikon*, Vol. II, article: "Polizeitruppen."

⁴⁹ H. Schnee, *Bilder aus der Südsee*, p. 117.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 152-53. This was for serious breaches of the code imposed by indirect rule. Native law was allowed to operate, in most cases, as it had before the whites arrived.

⁵¹ *Deutsches Kolonialblatt. Amtsblatt für die Schutzgebiete des Deutschen Reichs*, Vol. I, (1890) p. 177.

⁵² P. Decharme, *op. cit.*, p. 150. Hanging was the commonest method used for execution, since the marksmanship of the police troops was not trusted.

As in so many cases where systematized rules have been imposed on a colony without proper understanding of actual conditions, this code, as originally formulated, met with uneven success. Imprisonment, in many cases for acts traditionally permissible in native cultures, proved not to have the chastening effect intended. It provided the native with plenty to eat and nothing to do, two conditions which seemed to outweigh the loss of personal liberty.⁵³ Nor did the later methods of punishment—by imposing fines or holding back wages—secure the desired results, few natives aside from domestic servants having any clear conception of a wage economy.⁵⁴

The upshot of these attempts to find some disciplinary measure which would bring results was the extension of corporal punishment and the widespread use of the lash. Schnee⁵⁵ admits early abuses of whipping by energetic but unsympathetic pioneers. Nevertheless, he is of the opinion that it is really impossible to do without it altogether in controlling primitive peoples. In later years the Government introduced a system whereby a European with the proper qualifications could secure a license allowing him to administer floggings for sufficient cause to his employees. This ticket was called the *Disziplinarerlaubnis*. Abuse of this practice was controlled by periodic checkups of the records by Government officers.⁵⁶

INDENTURED LABOR AND RECRUITING

Thus far we have discussed several of the basic schemes, measures, and policies introduced by the Administration for controlling the native population during the German regime. These innovations of the European rulers were adaptations to three sets of conditions whose basic nature and interrelationship allow us to consider them as being the core of the German "native problem." These conditions were:

⁵³ This is the general impression of German critics of this time. Today a jail sentence is definitely taken as punishment, although little if any social stigma is attached to it in native society.

⁵⁴ J. Pfeil, *op cit.*, pp. 253-57.

⁵⁵ H. Schnee, *German Colonization, Past and Future*, pp. 119-120.

⁵⁶ G. Thomas, is a personal communication. I have been unable to find any reference to these tickets in the German literature, but I have seen some, kept as souvenirs by residents in the Territory today, and am convinced of their authenticity.

Flogging as a mode of punishment was abolished by the Australian administration, but was later reintroduced and made permissible in court sentences. The problem today of whether or not free citizens should be allowed permission to flog their employees for infractions of rules or failure to do their duties is one of the most frequently heard topics of conversation among Europeans.

- (a) the prevailing German attitude toward uncivilized peoples;
- (b) the primitive state of New Guinea society and culture; and
- (c) the role of the native in European schemes for exploitation.

We have discussed the German adjustments made to (a) and (b), showing that prevailing European attitudes were expressed in prohibition of the sale of liquor and firearms, while the punitive expeditions, the police force, and the *luluai* system were adaptations to the behavior and organization of the New Guinea natives. The prevailing purpose of the Germans now was to impose a uniform scheme on multiform conditions. How the natives reacted to these superimposed institutions will be considered in a later chapter. Here we are attempting to analyze the institutions themselves in order to have a thorough understanding of the conditions to which the natives had to adjust.

We may turn then to the third of the sets of factors listed above, *i.e.*, the place of the natives in the European economic exploitation of German New Guinea. This inevitably entails consideration of the indenture system, for it lies at the very foundation of all European development of the country. Here again discussion of the social effects of the system will be deferred until a subsequent chapter.

Germans in New Guinea, whether free settlers or representatives of a company, were vitally concerned with the problem of a sufficient labor supply.⁵⁷ They were determined, however, to avoid the excesses and deleterious effects of the system employed in the Queensland labor trade. Many Germans were outspoken in their criticisms of blackbirding, and the Administration was anxious to prevent a repetition of that traffic in its own domain. In the boundary treaty of 1885 with Great Britain, Germany demanded the repatriation of all natives who had been transported from her Territory. She would then be free to control her labor problem as she saw fit.

During the first three years of the Neu-Guinea Kompagnie's administration, special permission was granted to individuals for the recruiting of native labor, but no codified system of indenture was put forth. An Imperial decree of October 22, 1888, entitled *Entstehung der Disziplin unter den farbigen Arbeitern*, laid down a series of regulations covering

⁵⁷ This need had, of course, been felt in the pre-government years (See Chapter III). Speaking of the problem during the German period, Blum (*op. cit.*, p. 77) has said: "Der Kolonist am fernen fremden Tropenstrande hat nichts so sehr nötig wie Arbeitskräfte, ohne die alles Kapital und alle Spekulation umsonst sind."

all aspects of the labor problem. Mention has already been made of the punishments sanctioned by this decree.⁵⁸ Let us examine its remaining provisions, by which the indenture system acquired legal status.

In the first place, the decree took cognizance of the fact that most recruits would be transported by water to their place of work. Consequently, it demanded that certain minimal conditions of space and care be maintained on recruiting ships. The recruiter himself had to obtain a license for his work.⁵⁹

Having secured the number of recruits which his order specified, the recruiter took them before a government representative in Herbertshöhe or Friedrich Wilhelmshafen (now Madang), the two control stations in the Protectorate. Administration officers at these points examined them physically to satisfy the provision that recruits be in good health and capable of labor,⁶⁰ and also questioned them to make sure that they were not acting under coercion.

The most important provisions of this decree were those dealing with the indenture, or the contract itself. That document specified the conditions under which the recruit contracted to sell his labor. In it certain minimum living accommodations were promised, and the employer guaranteed to provide food, medical care, and fixed wages to the recruit. The duty of the Administration was to see to it that the provisions of the contract were upheld by both parties. The decree stated further that indentured servants were not to work for more than ten hours per day, that only one-third of their current wages was to be paid each month in hand-money,⁶¹ and that it was the duty of the employer to repatriate his workers at the end of their period of service.⁶² A final stipulation required that the deferred wages of any employee who died during his period of contract were to be paid to his heirs or next of kin.⁶³

This was the German system of recruiting and employment "on paper."

⁵⁸ See above, p. 142.

⁵⁹ Later, only government officials and Neu-Guinea Kompagnie agents were allowed to recruit (See J. Pfeil, *op. cit.*, p. 241).

⁶⁰ *Deutsches Kolonialblatt. Amtsblatt für die Schutzgebiete des Deutschen Reichs*, Vol. III, (1892), pp. 155-157.

⁶¹ Hand-money is the term for that part of the wages which the employee receives in cash or goods each month.

⁶² H. Schnee, *Bilder aus der Südsee*, pp. 133-134; *Deutsches Kolonial-Lexikon*, Vol. I, article: "Arbeiterverhältnisse."

⁶³ *Deutsches Kolonialblatt. Amtsblatt für die Schutzgebiete des Deutschen Reichs*, Vol. II, (1891), p. 478. This regulation was changed later to distribution of effects of the deceased among recruits from his own tribe or village.

The change toward willingness to be recruited must have proceeded at different rates in different districts. As new villages were brought within the sphere of European influence, rumors of bad conditions in the labor camps on the mainland made it more and more difficult to recruit in the older areas. The high death rate on the mainland and the general economic and political mismanagement of the Neu-Guinea Kompagnie during the first decade of its administration also had an adverse effect on the desire of Blanche Bay natives to "sign on."⁷⁴ Moreover, the contrasting attitudes of the older and younger generations in regard to recruiting—the former constantly trying to hold the latter back—were still to be seen in every village, as they had been in pre-governmental times.⁷⁵ When rumor-nurtured fears of German treatment were in the air, the old men usually prevailed; but, as conditions improved, the movement toward plantations again resumed its steady onward course. In the interim, however, the Germans—partly because they could not sense this change and partly because they needed semi-skilled labor on their tobacco, cocoa, and cotton plantations—turned to Asia for a solution of their labor problems. Company recruiters and agents visited Canton, Swatow, Singapore, and Batavia to secure workers. Single young men were preferred, although married coolies were told that their wives could be sent for later. No one year saw more than 2,000 Asiatics introduced, 1892, when that figure was reached, being the peak year. In 1914 there were only 1,800 Asiatics in the Protectorate, of whom approximately 1,400 were Chinese; the rest consisted of Malays, Javanese, and a few Polynesians. An exceedingly high death rate had led the British, Dutch, and Chinese authorities to prohibit further transportation.⁷⁶

No new legislation was introduced to cover Asiatic workers. They were governed by the regulations in force for natives under indenture, both groups being classed as *farbige Arbeiter*. When first introduced, the Asiatics performed tasks which did not differ greatly from those of employed natives. They cleared the ground, burned brush, and did the

⁷⁴ H. Blum, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

⁷⁵ H. Schnee, *Bilder aus der Südsee*, pp. 124, 371.

⁷⁶ H. Cayley-Webster, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-20; H. Blum, *op. cit.*, pp. 116-120; J. Wilda, *Reise auf S. M. S. "Möwe"*, p. 92; J. Lyng, *Our New Possession*, p. 30; Chu Leong, personal communication. This Chinese, now a trader and owner of a small power-sloop built by himself, was recruited in Canton in 1913. It is his conviction that the German Government had fewer laws but more sense than the Australian Government.

planting and weeding.⁷⁷ In after years, however, the Asiatics who remained in the country became shopkeepers, gardeners, carpenters, clerks, cooks, and, in a few cases, planters; simple manual labor was left exclusively to the New Guinea native laborers.⁷⁸

The methods by which the natives were induced to undertake employment and the terms of their service underwent no important changes between 1888 and 1914. It is safe to say, however, that there was more strict adherence to the written provisions in the later years than there had been under the Neu-Guinea Kompagnie. If the mere number of natives serving under indenture may be taken as a criterion, the system was a success, for the 150 natives gainfully employed by Europeans in 1884⁷⁹ had increased in thirty years to an estimated 20,000 on January 1, 1914.⁸⁰

OTHER ADMINISTRATIVE MEASURES

(a) *Local Administration.* Under the rule of the Neu-Guinea Kompagnie (1884-1899), the Protectorate was divided into two districts: the Eastern, comprising the islands of the Bismarck Archipelago, with headquarters at Herbertshöhe (now Kokopo); and the Western, consisting of Kaiser Wilhelmsland (Northeast New Guinea), with headquarters first at Finschhafen, later at Stephansort, and ultimately at Friedrich Wilhelmshafen (the present Madang). In 1899, when the Imperial German Government relieved the Neu-Guinea Kompagnie of its administrative duties, the first Governor, von Benningsen, moved the capital of the Protectorate from Friedrich Wilhelmshafen to Herbertshöhe. In 1910 the then Governor, Hahl, shifted the capital to a new site, named Rabaul, at the head of Blanche Bay on the Gazelle Peninsula.

Reasons for the failure of the Neu-Guinea Kompagnie to inaugurate an orderly administration need not detain us here.⁸¹ It will suffice to say that the later colonial administration, leaving the economic fortunes of the Protectorate in the hands of private enterprise, instituted a well-rounded system of regulation. Under its regime the power of legislating for the Protectorate was vested theoretically in the Imperial German Chancellor. In practice, however, the Governor of New Guinea, as

⁷⁷ *Deutsches Kolonialblatt. Amtsblatt für die Schutzgebiete des Deutschen Reichs*, Vol. V, (1894).

⁷⁸ M. Krieger, *Neu-Guinea*, p. 236.

⁷⁹ H. Blum, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

⁸⁰ J. Lyng, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

⁸¹ M. Krieger (*op. cit.*) and H. Blum (*op. cit.*) discuss this matter at some length.

deputy of the Chancellor, made most of the ordinances which affected the lives of people in the Protectorate. He was in complete control of the administration. The Government divided the entire Protectorate into seven districts (*Bezirke*), each of which took its name from its principal station. In 1914 the following districts were recognized: Rabaul (eastern New Britain); Kavieng (northwestern New Ireland; Namatanai (southeastern New Ireland); Kieta (eastern Bougainville); Friedrich Wilhelms-hafen (Astrolabe Bay, Northeast New Guinea); Aitape (western Northeast New Guinea); and Morobe (eastern Northeast New Guinea). Each district was under the immediate control of a district officer (*Bezirks-amtsmann*) who performed minor official duties and preserved order among the natives.⁸²

(b) *Taxation of Natives*. Tax-collecting has already been mentioned in connection with the duties of the *luluai*. A head-tax of five marks per adult male was imposed by an ordinance of March 18, 1907. Three years later, a graduated tax of five, seven, and ten marks was introduced. All grown men in areas specified as taxable were required to pay the designated tax. An exception was made for all natives who had worked for Europeans, or for taxed natives, for a period of at least ten months of the fiscal year.⁸³

(c) *Education*. The formal schooling made available to natives during the German period was almost entirely limited to that offered by the missions. Not until 1913, a year before the first World War, did the Government itself undertake to enter the field of educational activity. At that time a Government school for boys was established at Rabaul. Young natives whose intelligence seemed to warrant it were chosen from all parts of the Protectorate on the recommendation of their respective district officers. It is worth noting that the German language occupied an important place in the curriculum.⁸⁴

Under Hahl there had been a training station for native police at Herbertshöhe, later moved to Rabaul, but the instruction given there was purely military in nature. The corps actually amounted to an expeditionary force (of 125 troops), and was kept in readiness to quell uprisings in any part of the Protectorate. Each district officer recruited natives for his own district force and gave them what training he thought fit.

⁸² *Official Handbook of the Territory of New Guinea*, pp. 31-43.

⁸³ *Deutsches Kolonial Lexikon*, Vol. I, article: "Eingeborenensteuern." *Report to the Council of the League of Nations* (1923), p. 102.

⁸⁴ J. Lyng, *Island Films*, p. 25.

Usually the district officers kept the best recruits for themselves and sent the poorer material to the capital.⁸⁵

(d) *Native Health and Welfare.* There is little evidence in the official or unofficial literature on German New Guinea to show that any concerted action was undertaken until relatively late to raise the standards of health among the natives. The appointment of medical *tultuls* shows an awareness of a problem; but we do not know how many such appointments were made, nor can we determine how efficient these native officials were. Shortly before the War, the Government was undertaking to train native females in nursing and infant care. This program had made little headway, however, by the time of Australian annexation.⁸⁶

During the latter part of the period of German rule, the Government showed increasing interest in the problem of native health and welfare. The possibility of a decline in the native population, such as had been experienced in other parts of the Pacific, gave cause for alarm. Parkinson, in his monumental ethnographic survey of New Guinea,⁸⁷ had called attention to the striking decrease in the populations of the Eastern and Western Islands, and to the slower decline which he thought to be taking place in New Ireland and Western New Britain. This situation, in a country so completely dependent on native labor, led the awakened administration to undertake investigations of its own. Dr. Hoffman, a medical officer in the Government service, was consequently sent to Northern New Ireland in 1913 to make a population study. His findings tended to confirm the impression that the population was declining. This fact he attributed directly to the excess of deaths over births, indirectly to the generally unsanitary condition of the villages and the over-recruiting of adult males.⁸⁸

Another medical specialist, Dr. Karl Kopp,⁸⁹ was also commissioned by the Government to make an investigation of possible depopulation among the tribes on the north coast of New Britain. Dr. Kopp was careful to state that in the absence of adequate census figures for the area over a

⁸⁵ S. Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-47.

⁸⁶ *Report to the Council of the League of Nations* (1923), p. 40 (quoting *Deutsches Kolonialblatt. Amtsblatt für die Schutzgebiete des Deutschen Reichs*, Vol. 24 (1913), p. 129).

⁸⁷ *Dreissig Jahre in der Südsee*, *passim*.

⁸⁸ *Report to the Council of the League of Nations* (1923), pp. 35-36 (quoting *Deutsches Kolonialblatt. Amtsblatt für die Schutzgebiete des Deutschen Reichs*, Vol. 24, (1913), pp. 114-131).

⁸⁹ *Archiv für Schiffs- und Tropen-Hygiene*, Vol. 17 (1913), pp. 729-750.

period of years it was impossible to prove or disprove the common assertions regarding depopulation. His conclusion was, however, that the alleged racial degeneration among these people was a myth.⁹⁰

From the elementary nature of the health reforms suggested by Drs. Hoffmann and Kopp, we may conclude that previous to this time the German Government had done very little in the way of therapeutic or preventive medical work among the aborigines. Research in tropical medicine was carried on in the Protectorate at various times; Koch, Fülleborn, Besenbruch, Neuhauss, Marshall, and Meerwein all published material collected in New Guinea, but no practical results of these studies were immediately forthcoming. We may see in the sponsored investigations of Hoffmann and Kopp, however, an awakening interest on the part of the Government in problems of native welfare. Enlightened self-interest was at the basis of this concern, for native labor was an indispensable part of European exploitation. Nevertheless, it shows a significant trend in the relations between whites and natives.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. 17 (1913), p. 734.

CHAPTER V

NATIVE ADMINISTRATION, AUSTRALIAN: 1914 to 1940

A. THE MILITARY ADMINISTRATION, 1914-1921

Count Pfeil, a recruiting agent for the Neu-Guinea Kompagnie and later an official in the German administration, was a keen observer of the relations between the New Guinea aborigines and European settlers. He noted one widely-held native conviction which reflected the earlier aboriginal notions about Europeans. This was the general belief that the foreigners were merely temporary visitors and that they would soon depart, thus making possible a return to old tribal customs.¹ Today, as several tribes and villages around the older settlements are entering into the second generation of contact with Europeans, there is no longer the same general conviction on this point; the current belief is not that the white men will eventually leave in a body, but that the Germans will return and gain revenge by driving out all British officials and settlers. The natives have become inured to the presence of Europeans in their country; yet they cannot conceive, in the light of their own customs, that the succession of white governments which they have experienced is final.

It is frequently charged that this present native attitude results from subtle propaganda, spread by resident German missionaries and other non-British elements. It is not impossible that this may have happened in some instances, but it has never been proved conclusively. The implied or expressed preferences on the part of New Guinea natives for the return of their former German rulers which one may note today is a fact

¹ J. Pfeil, *Studien und Beobachtungen aus der Südsee*, p. 238. Similar concepts have been entertained by other widely separated primitive groups—in Africa, North America, and Australia—during the initial stages of their contacts with Europeans.

which disquiets the present Administration, for it is convinced (and on tenable grounds) that it is doing more for the native than was ever done before. However, the whole matter may be interpreted on other grounds than that of subtle propaganda. New Guineans, no less than civilized people, are given to wishful thinking and idealization of the past. Thus natives whose cultures suffered less change from aboriginal conditions under German administration look back on those earlier times as the "good old days." The following case will serve as an illustration.

Of all the natives I met, the most outspoken critics of the Australian regime and the people who had the highest praise for the Germans were the Kwoma, of the Upper Sepik River. The way in which they have acquired these attitudes may not typify developments in all other tribes, but the facts show how such attitudes may be derived from certain cultural realities of contact rather than by propaganda. These are the facts:

(1) Except for the one-day visit of a single priest in 1931, German missionaries have had no contact with this tribe. The likelihood of their having acquired their present attitude through direct contact with German nationals is, therefore, practically nil. The possibility of the diffusion of German nationalistic ideas,² through the mingling of indentured Kwoma young men with other natives in labor camps, cannot be ruled out entirely, but it seems improbable since the number of such individuals is so small.

(2) The Kwoma dwell on what is still the outer border of the area controlled by the Government. Their acceptance of the restrictions placed on head-hunting, sorcery, native methods of burial, and other customary practices heavily sanctioned by Europeans is far from complete. The German administration, having no direct contact with the Kwoma, never made an attempt to impose such taboos on their tribe.

(3) In 1913, the Kwoma killed a native porter of a German scientific expedition and were punished by the execution of one member of their tribe. In 1928, they killed two native constables of the Australian Government. The precipitating event in each case was the rape of Kwoma women. The Australian punishment, in the latter case, was far

² By "German nationalistic ideas" I do not mean the doctrines of National Socialism. Most of the 469 Germans (and fourteen Czechoslovaks ?) are missionaries, and the majority are said to be anti-Nazi. This is owing in no small part to the fact that their parent bodies in the homeland are now prohibited from giving them financial assistance. For their part the natives have no consciousness of recent political events in Germany.



A Sitting of a Court of Native Affairs in a Middle
Sepik River Village

[Chapter V]



Women Gathered at the *Bung*, Rabaul, New Britain

[Chapter VI]



Indentured Laborers Loading Sacked Copra, Lindenhafen, New Britain
[Chapter VII]



Coronation Day in Chinatown, Rabaul, New Britain, May 12th, 1937

more severe; it amounted to a massacre in which at least seventeen Kwoma were killed or died, and the tribe kept in a state of turmoil for a month.

(4) The few Germans who visited the Kwoma bought articles of material culture, paying very high prices in terms of valuable trade goods. Australian officials have a standing order for foods when they are brought for sale to the Government station at Ambunti, but the Kwoma feel that they are underpaid.

(5) Government patrols have made an average of two visits per year to the Kwoma since 1929. These patrols require that all natives assemble for census-taking and medical inspection. The visits are not looked forward to as an excuse for festivities, but are regarded as interruptions and are heartily resented. German lack of interest in the tribe is misinterpreted by the Kwoma as respect for their feelings in the matter.

These facts show that fortuitous circumstances surrounding the transitory German contacts coupled with the recent extension of Australian authority into an area scarcely touched—certainly not exploited—by the Germans have endowed the Kwoma with contrasting attitudes toward the two white administrations. The Kwoma make the simple mistake of comparing two sets of conditions in a time sequence as if they were contemporaneous. In the light of their knowledge and desires, however, their conclusions are quite logical.

The contrasting attitude of the Kwoma toward Germans and Australians must be balanced by evidence gathered from Blanche Bay, Kavieng, Namatanai, and Madang—places which have had longer experience with both regimes. In these older centers the transition has been gradual and generally peaceful, and therefore no such sharp lines of distinction are drawn between the two nationalities. As a result there is no unanimity of opinion to be found which would indicate a universal belief in the alleged superiority of the German administration. The anticipated German reprisals against the Australians are simply a part of the folklore of modern New Guinea. The whole matter has its basis of belief in aboriginal ideas about the necessity of retaliation.

The capture of German New Guinea, on September 11, 1914, by the Australian Naval and Military Expeditionary Force has since become an outstanding event in Commonwealth history. And well it might, for it wiped out the bitter memory of Bismarck's forestalling Australian colonial aspirations thirty years before. Commemorative services held on

that day recalled vividly to the Australians who took part in the brief but stirring capture their participation in a greater historic process. To the New Guinea natives, however, the rapid succession of events through which they passed in acquiring a new set of white masters has no such national importance.³ The Australian succession simply marked the end of what came to be known to them as "German time," but until the natives came to know the "man bilong Sydney," the future remained highly speculative.

Except for the formal and unresisted occupation of the outstations, which required two months to complete, military operations in this brief campaign were limited to two days of actual combat in the Blanche Bay district. Nevertheless, for some time prior to Australian invasion a wave of unrest had been spreading among the natives of the eastern portion of the Bismarck Archipelago as German planters were called to the defense of the colony. Overseers and officials had been enrolling in a reserve force several months prior to the coming of the Australians; and because of this they were forced to leave their labor lines, with insufficient control. At the same time, a severe drought was on the land, and native foods were scarce. Consequently, when the supply of imported rice and tinned foods ran short as a result of the war blockades and interruptions to shipping, indentured laborers deserted in large numbers and even commenced to pillage untenanted European stations. The forces of native police stationed in the various districts could not cope with the situation, and the expeditionary force which had concentrated in Rabaul was busily engaged in training for colonial defense.⁴ In New Ireland and elsewhere the rumor spread among indentured workers that the German Government had lost its authority, and that it was unnecessary for laborers to work any longer for, or even to obey, their erstwhile employers. The insidious notion that government control had ceased was carried back to native villages as indentured laborers and boys in the German school in Rabaul ran off and scattered among the general population.⁵ The Asiatics in the territory also were in doubt as to their future status, and

³ The only official announcement to the natives of the change in administration was a speech, in poor Melanesian pidgin, delivered to police troops and assembled natives in Rabaul when the *Treaty of Capitulation* was signed. It dealt particularly with the English strength of arms and ended with the phrase, "No more 'um Kaiser; God save 'um King."

⁴ J. Lyng, *Our New Possessions*, pp. 85-86; S. S. Mackenzie, *The Australians at Rabaul*, pp. 97-98.

⁵ S. S. Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 121; J. Lyng, *Island Films*, p. 25.

many who feared for their personal safety took to the bush, to lead a nomadic existence among the native villages.⁶

The Australians saw clearly that a firm hand would be needed if widespread disorders among the native population were to be avoided. Unfortunately, they had among them no experts in any phase of tropical colonization, and even lacked experienced German interpreters. The Australian Expeditionary Force had been assembled in the utmost haste, some men having been literally picked off Sydney streets, and from such diverse material a military administration had to be fashioned. At that time there was no colonial service in Australia from which to choose men specifically qualified to deal with the particular problems of colonial New Guinea. The Territory of Papua, which had been under Australian rule for only nine years, was itself in the process of learning by experience and could spare none of her staff to aid her step-sister colony.

In order that the transition from German to Australian rule might be carried out as smoothly as possible, the Australian command wisely wrote into the *Treaty of Capitulation* special terms to guarantee the greatest possible continuity in administration.⁷ Five of the clauses in the Treaty are of special importance, for they laid down the general lines of government which the Military Administration was to follow for the next seven years.

Clauses V and VI stated that officers and men of the German Forces in New Guinea whose ordinary occupations were civil would, on taking the oath of neutrality, be allowed to return to their homes and usual occupations.

Clause VII took cognizance of the continuing need for a native constabulary to maintain order among natives; and it transferred control of the existing native territorial force to the Military Administration.

Clause IX stated that during the military occupation local laws and customs were to remain in force, in so far as they were not inconsistent with the military situation.

Clause X provided for the retention of German civil officials, who would take the oath of neutrality, to act in an advisory capacity to the Australian Military Administration.

This Treaty was roundly criticized in Australia as being far too lenient.

⁶ Chu Leong, who supplied this information, was one of these refugees. He spent several months wandering along the coast of the Sepik District.

⁷ Mackenzie gives the full text of this treaty, which was signed at Rabaul on September 17, 1914 (*op. cit.*, pp. 82-85).

Such leniency as it showed, however, arose from the fact that a motley assortment of naval and military men was totally unprepared to cope with an unknown system of controlling a numerous and volatile native population. In the light of following events, it is difficult to see how any other policy could have succeeded so well.

As the military regime swung into action under the tutelage of those German officials who chose to remain, social conditions among the natives in their villages and on plantations rapidly returned to normal. Regular supplies of food and tobacco once more became available, overseers took up their duties on the plantations, and the unrest of August and September gave way to the settled routine of pre-war days. Clearing and planting activities were again resumed, and by means of police patrols, natives in their villages were once more reminded that law and order were still being maintained.⁸

There were other factors beside the necessity for keeping the natives in check, however, which induced the Australians to embrace, as quickly as possible, the German system of government. As already mentioned, the Australians had no substitute plan to put forth; hence they wisely adopted that which lay ready at hand. Economic considerations, moreover, required that the established plantation economy of the territory be maintained in full vigor. It was apparent to the high command of the occupying force that if the plantations were neglected or destroyed, the economic value of the territory would sink to almost nothing. Colonel Holmes, leader of the Australian Force and the first Military Administrator, saw the case in this light. Although he might be weak in principles of diplomacy and international law, there was never a doubt in Holmes's mind as to what should be the final disposition of the conquered land. He said:⁹ "Ever since I started on my mission I have kept steadily in view the fact that my Force was not a filibustering expedition dispatched to conquer these parts, levy an indemnity, do as much damage as possible and move on, but with the object of occupying the Islands with Military Garrisons until the conclusion of the War when they would be retained as valuable British Possessions for Colonizing purposes." For all its bluntness and unadorned imperialism, this statement did reflect Australian sentiments with regard to the captured German territory. Her delegate to the Peace Conference, W. M. Hughes, gave ample proof of this

⁸ S.S. Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, pp. 181-182.

⁹ Quoted in S. S. Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

when he repeatedly voiced similar sentiments in quite as direct a manner. During the War period, however, the legal complexities surrounding the status of former German possessions inhibited plans for further development. It was considered best by the Australian Government to mark time in the matter of New Guinea's future and simply to maintain the economic life and preserve the territory as a going concern until its final status should be determined.

Census figures for the non-indigenous population in 1914 and 1921 bear witness to the stagnancy of colonial development and settlement during the military occupation. In 1914 the total number of the foreign-born amounted to 3,073; seven years later this number had increased by only 100 to a total of 3,173.¹⁰ Furthermore, if we analyze these figures according to nationality or race, and by domicile in New Guinea, we find only one significant change in New Guinea demography: the substitution of British for Germans among the European population. Once peace was established, the Asiatics remained where they had been, and in the same numbers, throughout the military occupation. In 1914 they constituted about 1,800 persons, of which number 1,377 were Chinese. In 1921 there were 1,816 enumerated Asiatics in New Guinea. The Chinese had increased to 1,424, while small groups of Malays and Filipinos had been repatriated. Fully seventy percent of the Asiatics lived in Rabaul.

The figures available as of the two dates mentioned above allow no specific conclusions to be drawn regarding the distribution of the foreign population within the Territory. A rough estimate, however, shows that slightly more than half of the total non-indigenous population dwelt in the Gazelle Peninsula in 1914 and in 1921; two-thirds of the total in New Britain and New Ireland.

Statistics relating to the native population are of interest for the further light they throw on the *laissez-faire* policy of the Military Administration. As against approximately 20,000 indentured laborers under contract to the Germans in 1914, we find that the Australians, in 1921, were employing 27,728.¹¹ This increase may be accounted for by the fact that many German plantations, laid out before the War, were beginning to bear fruit and thus required more care. In the light of other evidence we may also say that seven additional years of contact with Europeans

¹⁰ J. Lyng, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-30; *Report to the Council of the League of Nations* (1923), pp. 138-139.

¹¹ *Report to the Council of the League of Nations* (1923), pp. 53-54.

had made a larger number of natives amenable to recruiting. Furthermore, there was a net increase of 35,000 in the enumerated native population from 1914 to 1921.¹² This meant that many more aborigines had been visited by the Government, and the way thus opened to their increasing participation in the common life of the Territory. In round numbers, 28,000 of the newly-met natives resided in the Bismarck Archipelago: New Britain (20,000) and Bougainville (8,000). Northeast New Guinea contributed only 7,000 new names. These figures show that Australian penetrative patrols were few in number and confined their operations almost exclusively to the island area. With the exception of one or two noteworthy ascents of rivers, the interior of the mainland was left severely alone.

In the sphere of native administration, the period from 1914 to 1921 saw few new European innovations or adjustments. It was the aim of the Australians to preserve the *status quo* pending the outcome of events in Europe; and they exerted their strength to preserve the social order built up by the Germans. Specific changes in methods of administration under the Australian Military Administration were relatively unimportant. Indeed, the *Treaty of Capitulation* had stated that local laws and customs were to remain in force, and there were few parts of the German system to which serious objections could be raised, on grounds of either moral principle or practical applicability. The German Government itself had drafted an amendment to its native labor regulations shortly before the outbreak of the war which aimed to check some abuses that had arisen. The rough draft of this amendment served as the basis for Australian modifications and revisions of the existing German legislation.

One significant alteration in the system, however, was entirely Australian in its provenience: the restriction and eventual abolishment of corporal punishment of natives. The first "Native Labour Regulations" ordinance issued by the Australians (14 July, 1915) continued the practice of granting "flogging permits" to Europeans. But within a month an ordinance appeared which restricted corporal punishment of natives to government officials duly appointed by a judge. A further provision stated that flogging was permissible only in cases of serious crime. Finally, in 1919, corporal punishment of natives was absolutely prohibited.¹³

¹² 1914—152,075; 1921—187,517. *Report to the Council of the League of Nations* (1923), p. 134, Appendix A: Table III, "Native Population, 1914 and 1921."

¹³ S. S. Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, pp. 232-233.

The recruiting of native women had gone on during the German period, but female recruitment had never amounted to more than a small fraction of the total contracts signed. The German Government had come to the conclusion, however, that even this small amount caused serious maladjustments and social conflicts in the native villages from which the women came. Furthermore, it had been suggested that it might be a factor in population decline.¹⁴ Thus the Germans had forbidden the recruiting of married women, unless accompanied by their husbands, and had prohibited entirely the recruiting of unmarried girls. The Australians, approving this measure, merely issued an order saying that this law was still in force.¹⁵

Finally, the Military Administration set out to administer the existing native regulations with more vigor than had been exercised theretofore. Having no economic stake in the country beyond the hope that it would eventually fall to their hands, they were able to institute stricter supervision over all phases of European exploitation. More checks were placed in the way of those who would exploit the natives, and heavier penalties were exacted from those who overstepped the rules.

The relative inaction on the part of this first Australian Government in opening up or developing the land had a negative effect on the native culture. It amounted simply to the fixing in a firmer mold of the mutual adjustments between natives and Europeans which had taken shape during German times. The speech of their new masters gave opportunities for the incorporation of more English words into Melanesian pidgin; the indenture system continued to enfold an increasing number of the younger males; and a few previously unvisited areas came under the white man's dominion for the first time. But in all of these factors and events there was no sharp break with the past; and sprouts from seeds of change sown long before continued their steady growth.

¹⁴ See Chapter IV, p. 126.

¹⁵ S. S. Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 306. In the *Report to the Council of the League of Nations* (1923), the Australian Administration points to the earlier German abuses of recruiting girls for sexual purposes, and mentions its own measures to check these abuses. What they neglect to say is that the German Government had already taken the steps noted above in the same direction shortly before the War.

B. THE CIVIL ADMINISTRATION, 1921 to 1940

THE CREATION OF THE MANDATE

In Article 119 of the Treaty of Versailles (June 28, 1919), Germany renounced, in favor of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, all rights and titles to her overseas possessions.¹⁶ This clause cleared the way for the creation of the mandate system which was embodied and defined in Article 22 of the subsequent Covenant of the League of Nations.

The mandate system, under one phase of which New Guinea is now ruled by Australia, was a compromise adjustment designed to provide the former German colonies with responsible governments without sanctioning complete annexation. It was not a creation *de novo* by the peace conference, for the conceptual germs of its ruling principles were already extant in the changed attitudes of civilized nations toward backward lands and their peoples. What the creators of the mandate system did was simply to organize these newer attitudes into a body of rules, the execution of which was to be guaranteed and overseen by the League of Nations.¹⁷

Article 22 is of more than passing moment in the study of Australian native administration, for in this charter were laid down certain broad principles for governing subject peoples which have sanctioned administrative regulations in the mandate ever since. To call it "the Magna Carta of primitive peoples" is to use a false analogy, for it was not won by the natives from their masters, but presented to them gratis. Its roots stretched down into the broad stratum of humanitarian motives then in the ascendant—as though by some slow geological process—in European culture. It does partake of the nature of a constitutional guarantee of human rights, however, for the ideals of native rule which it sets up are higher than any ever before committed to writing by a comparable concert of powers. The Article stated, for example, that in those former German colonies and territories ". . . inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust for civiliza-

¹⁶ F. White, *Mandates*, p. 14.

¹⁷ See E. von Maassen-Helmer, *The Mandates System in Relation to Africa and the Pacific Islands*; also, Q. Wright, *Mandates under the League of Nations*.

tion.”¹⁸ In the phrase, “a sacred trust for civilization,” the Australian mandatory (and those Australians who are concerned with the welfare of the native) has a potent slogan which is constantly voiced in both legislation and the public press.¹⁹ Whether or not such a slogan guarantees better treatment to the native would be difficult to show. It does at least offer a convenient point of departure for criticisms of the failures of the government in matters of native administration. The slogan is vague, however, and many different interpretations may be placed upon it. But the intent behind it is perfectly clear, *i.e.*, to endow the native with the rights of a human being.

The relevant parts of the text of the “Mandate for Former German New Guinea Conferred on the King of England on Behalf of the Government of Australia” have already been given.²⁰ What is striking in this document is its concern for the natives to the complete exclusion of questions concerning Europeans.²¹

It may be stated at once that the Australian Civil Administration has conscientiously tried to live up to the principles of its mandate. Behind the fulsome lip-service paid by high government officials to the principles of the mandate there is a great deal of practical transposition of the ideals into action by Patrol and District Officers. But it is also apparent to an observer that the ideals expressed in the mandate document are not always achieved in practice, and that no major changes have been made in the German legacy of native control. If we were to judge the two administrations solely on the basis of legislation passed in the interests of native welfare, the Australians would undoubtedly take the lead. But, in a sociological analysis, we must pay attention to what is actually done by the administrations as well as to what is supposed to be done. More-

¹⁸ Quoted in S. S. Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 346.

¹⁹ H. Rudin says (*Germans in the Cameroons*, p. 297): “A remarkable fact about German colonial administration is the conspicuous absence of slogans about the high moral purposes informing colonial politics.” The Australian administration (and the non-official population) stands in marked contrast to the Germans in this respect.

²⁰ See p. 86.

²¹ In the negotiations for peace and the creation of the mandate system, the fate of German residents and companies in the colonies was of little moment. Article 297 of the Treaty of Versailles gave the Allies the power to liquidate all property, rights, and interests of German nationals, and the German Government undertook the compensation for such expropriation. Germany's impoverishment after the War made the fulfilment of this promise an impossibility. Thus Australian expropriation resulted in destitution and great hardships among German pioneers. (See S. S. Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, pp. 349-356, for facts and an attempted justification of the Australian measures). British residents of New Guinea today generally agree that the Germans in the country received very poor treatment.

over, what the Administration's native policy is must be weighed against what the natives think it is, for the behavior of the European is the native's only criterion for determining what he will or will not do.

THE AGENTS OF NATIVE ADMINISTRATION

Pursuant to the terms of the Mandate, the Civil Administration early drew up a comprehensive list of aims inspiring and regulating its entire native policy.²² These were seven in number:

- (1) to stop evils connected in the past with recruiting; and to encourage recruited men to take their wives with them;
- (2) to improve the health of the native;
- (3) to improve the physical and moral environment of village life;
- (4) to encourage peasant proprietorship among the native population;
- (5) to educate the native;
- (6) to introduce healthy forms of amusement;
- (7) to extend government influence through the parts of the Territory not yet under control.

Although no sharp lines can be drawn between the specific problems mentioned, this list obviously needs further classification. A functional regrouping of the several phases of native administration shows that the Civil Administration has proceeded along four lines of attack on the general native problem, as follows:

- (1) Peaceful penetration, or the continued extensions of European influence by Government agents, into areas previously unvisited by whites.
- (2) Substitution of European codes of justice and punishment not only among the natives themselves, but also between whites and natives—particularly in the indenture system of native labor.
- (3) Improvement of individual and group health.
- (4) Education.²³

Three administrative departments of the Government are charged with the achieving of these aims: the Department of the Government Secretary, which directs the work of the District Officers; the Department of Native Affairs, which is responsible for all matters concerning natives,

²² *Report to the Council of the League of Nations* (1923), p. 51.

²³ "Education" is to be taken in its broadest sense as including all measures, regulations, or examples aimed to promote the betterment of native life. Formal schooling had only a minor position in this program. Under such wide definition it was possible to include the indenture system, which was supposed to teach habits of diligence, responsibility, sobriety, and other European virtues.

particularly problems of native labor and indenture; and the Department of Public Health.²⁴ Under this arrangement the District Officers, with their staffs, and the Medical Officers are the government representatives who come into direct contact with the natives. In many cases they are the government, for the natives seldom have, as yet, more than a hazy idea of the abstract power which these men represent.

In each of the seven administrative districts into which the Territory is divided (*mainland*: Sepik, Madang, Morobe; *islands*: New Britain, New Ireland, Manus, and Kieta), the District Officer carries on all administrative functions, for there exists no form of municipal or local government except the embryonic *luluai* system of the native villages.²⁵ The field staff of each District Officer originally consisted of an Assistant District Officers and two Patrol Officers. In 1927 these staffs were augmented by the addition of Cadets, young men who might be called "apprentice" Patrol Officers.²⁶ This plan has been carried on and expanded down to the present time.

The duties of each District Field Staff are extremely varied, their powers correspondingly wide. The general routine, however, may be reduced to certain major activities. All villages under government control

²⁴ *Report to the Council of the League of Nations* (1923), pp. 42-43. In 1927, supervision of the work of District Officers was taken from the Department of the Government Secretary and incorporated with the supervision of native affairs in a new agency called the Department of District Services and Native Affairs. The Commissioner of Native Affairs henceforth became the Director of District Services and Native Affairs.

²⁵ By June 30, 1938, the Government had appointed and confirmed 11,608 natives as village officials in nearly 4,000 native communities. There were

70 Paramount Chiefs
3,776 *Luluais*
4,141 *Tultuls*
3,621 Medical *Tultuls*

See *Report to the Council of the League of Nations* (1939), p. 32.

²⁶ Cadets are periodically chosen from among a large number of eager applicants in Australia. The applicants usually have completed at least two years of college education. In New Guinea they carry on routine patrol duties, at first in the company of senior officers, but at later periods often on their own. They are not empowered, however, to hold Courts of Native Affairs. After two years of practical experience in the field, they are sent to the University of Sydney, where they must study anthropology, tropical hygiene, and law. On their return to New Guinea they are elevated to the rank of Patrol Officer.

The high selectivity in the choice of men for these positions has given the Government the nucleus of an able colonial service. In the early days of the Civil Administration, the New Guinea officers in the Public Service were drawn almost entirely from the ranks of war veterans, and a good war record was the only qualification needed. Although this older group has produced many able men who now occupy the highest positions in the service, it would seem that the cadet system will supply more properly-trained men. As might be expected, differences of opinion tend to separate the older and younger men in the service into two camps.

are supposed to be visited at least once a year, for purposes of census and tax-collection. Since only two of the districts (New Ireland and Manus) are regarded as being completely under government control, it falls to the five remaining Field Staffs to carry on patrols, exploration, and peaceful penetration, by means of which new villages may be drawn within the sphere of white influence and enterprise. Another very important duty of each District Office is the supervision of recruiting and indentured labor. All contracts must be witnessed by a district official, and each labor line, wherever located, has to be inspected annually. Finally, the District Officer and his Assistant are endowed with civil and criminal jurisdiction over their area, and have to be ready at all times to act as magistrates in Courts of Native Affairs, whether at the government stations or on patrol in the native villages.²⁷ The total number of European field-staff officers in 1922 was forty-one. In 1937 the number had been increased to seventy-three, a figure which is still regarded by the Administration as far from adequate for the needs.²⁸

Although the Department of Public Health works in close cooperation with the Department of District Services and Native Affairs, it has always had its own staff. Each district has its Medical Officer and Medical Assistants, as well as many trained native orderlies. Native hospitals are situated at government stations and posts, and medical patrols are often carried on in conjunction with administrative patrols. Besides being responsible for native health, the medical staff has the duty of introducing new sanitary and hygienic practices in native villages. Its members also choose and train selected natives for duty as medical orderlies and medical *tultuls*.²⁹ In 1922 thirty Europeans were enrolled in the Department of Public Health. Fifteen years later the staff had been doubled, but was still pitifully inadequate.³⁰

²⁷ G. Townsend, "The Administration of the Mandated Territory of New Guinea," *Geographical Journal*, Vol. 82 (1933), p. 425.

²⁸ E. W. P. Chinnery, former Director of District Services and Native Affairs, in a personal communication.

²⁹ *Report to the Council of the League of Nations* (1923), p. 66.

³⁰ The Government makes employers of native labor responsible for the health and medical care of their employees, and many of the missions extend medical aid gratuitously to natives. This materially lightens Government responsibility in health matters, but, even so, its staff is far too small to give what is deemed adequate attention to free natives in their villages. On the Sepik River, for example, there was, in 1936-37, only one Medical Assistant to patrol over 100 native villages flanking the river for a distance of 265 river miles. This official, moreover, was a youth of twenty-two whose only experience previous to being assigned to this region was three months of supervised training in native hospitals in other parts of the Territory. Beyond possessing a more than average intelligence and a good

PEACEFUL PENETRATION

The German Government had brought the majority of the coastal dwellers of the Territory under control by 1914, but geographical barriers and the slow growth of German exploitative interests had acted as efficient checks to any inland extension of their interests. The Australian Military Administration had likewise undertaken no larger scheme for the pacification of inland tribes. Thus, when the Civil Administration began, it was faced with the need for a long-range program by which its authority could ultimately be projected throughout the whole of its territorial domain. Manus and New Ireland could be regarded as won, but there were still large areas in New Britain, Bougainville, and the mainland which remained blank on the map, although they were known to harbor large native populations.

The task of bringing the *Pax Britannica* to these new natives lay with the District Officers and their staffs. As a preliminary measure, they were given orders to prepare maps of their several districts, distinguishing the following degrees of governmental or European influence:

- (1) area under complete control—*i.e.*, an area into which an unarmed native constable could go to make an arrest and be sure of the support of the people in the performance of his duty;
- (2) area under partial control—where an unarmed native constable would be tolerated but given no assistance in making an arrest of a local native;
- (3) area under Government influence—where Government patrols could make arrests and where the lives and property of white men were relatively safe;

physique, his only academic qualifications was two years of biology in a junior college. Yet this individual not only was supposed to inspect each native in every village at least once a year, but also had charge of the native hospital of 100 "beds" at Ambunti where he treated serious cases.

Obviously, the assignment was more than any individual could possibly handle, and, despite his best efforts, many villages remained unvisited. In January, 1937, one group of villages on the Yuat River, a southern tributary of the Sepik, sent a delegation to the District Office to plead for a medical patrol to visit them. They had not been visited for five years and were becoming alarmed at the prevalence of sores and sickness among their people. This case assumes its true significance when it is realized that only five years previously these same tribes had regularly deserted at the approach of any government patrol.

The state of affairs in this portion of the Sepik District is not typical of the whole Territory; but medical men cannot be spared from other districts, I was told, without causing immediate retrogression. The problem is at bottom financial; the Administration is painfully aware of the need for far more medical attention among the native population. It simply has not the wherewithal to institute necessary reforms.

- (4) area penetrated by patrols—where initial contact had been established; and
- (5) unknown area.³¹

After the District Officer had acquainted himself with the degree of influence in each section of his district, he was ready to carry on patrols which aimed ultimately to bring the entire district under the heading of area (1) above. Areas (2) and (3) had to be visited periodically for administrative purposes, but in such regions the Government was assisted in its educative program by recruiters, missionaries, and traders. Areas (4) and (5) were those requiring more careful treatment.³²

To assist in bringing newly discovered tribes within the sphere of influence and control as quickly as possible, the Civil Administration adopted a method of peaceful penetration known as the base-camp system. This is an economical and generally successful means of establishing contact with wild natives, and thus preparing the way for their easy pacification and early recruitment. It is carried out in the following manner.

When an unvisited area has been marked out for penetration, an officer is sent with ten or twelve native constables to set up a base camp in it. An uninhabited site is chosen near the geographical center of the different communities in the region; this is done in order to show no favoritism. Natives quickly gather from the nearer settlements, and contact is established by presenting them with gifts and trading with them. If after a few days no untoward accidents have occurred, the officer rests assured that word of the friendly intent of his party has traveled far. Thereupon he starts to patrol the area. Villages are visited and, while gifts are being distributed in each, the officer explains the purposes and prohibitions of the white man's government. Each newly entered village is

³¹ G. Townsend, "The Administration of the Mandated Territory of New Guinea," *Geographical Journal*, Vol. 82 (1933), p. 424.

³² The Civil Administration has adopted a legislative device, known as the *Uncontrolled Areas Ordinance*, by which contact between raw aborigines and foreigners is rigidly controlled. By this ordinance the Administrator is empowered to declare any unvisited area "uncontrolled," if he sees fit. Thenceforth no unauthorized person, white or native, may enter it for any purpose whatsoever without express permission and a police escort. This ordinance is an adjustment, *first*, to the humanitarian motive of protecting new natives from the dangers of unsupervised exploitation, and *second*, to the inadequacy of the District Field Staffs, whose duties are so numerous that they cannot spend all of their time in the work of penetration into new country.

This scheme for the strict control of the first phase of the contact process is one of the few real innovations of the Australian regime. It was suggested by Dr. A. R. Wollaston, an English explorer of Netherlands New Guinea, in 1920 (See *Geographical Journal*, Vol. 55 (1920), pp. 457-458).

ordered to erect a rest-house, of native materials and with a raised floor, for the use of future patrols and any visiting white man. In return, the officer gives out seeds and cuttings of European vegetables and non-indigenous fruits which are for the natives' own use.³³

The average length of life of a base camp is about three months. This seldom allows sufficient time for the appointment of *luluais* and *tultuls*, but youths are selected to be trained as medical *tultuls*, and the villagers are told that the other officials will soon be chosen. The time, however, is usually sufficient for the Patrol Officer to effect truces between hostile villages of the patrolled area and to make clear the cardinal points of government policy.³⁴

The work of the initial penetrative patrols is frequently followed by stationing camps of native police at strategic points in the area won. Picked native constables are sent out with their wives and families and are deployed at intervals within a day's walk, or less, of one another. They construct their own houses, lay out a garden, and settle down for a period of several months' residence. They are instructed to act as unobtrusive teachers, showing the natives how to raise new crops and how to improve their dwellings if necessary, and informing them as to the governmental regulations and taboos. The function of these special police boys is not unlike that of the Polynesian teachers introduced by the early missionaries. The major difference lies in the fact that the instruction given by the police boys is secular and political rather than religious.

The observance of proper precautions and the consistent maintenance of a generally conciliatory attitude ensure the success of most penetrative patrols. There are, of course, exceptions to this rule. Armed clashes have occurred between government patrols and new natives, and the same may be said of prospecting and recruiting parties and other enterprises which have entered virgin territory from time to time. Two cases of this sort

³³ Recruiters, missionaries, and other Europeans not attached to the Government have assisted greatly in the diffusion of European plants and vegetables among native villages. They usually donate seeds with the understanding that the natives shall supply them with fresh fruits and vegetables during their subsequent visits.

³⁴ G. Townsend, "The Administration of the Mandated Territory of New Guinea," *Geographical Journal*, Vol. 82 (1933), pp. 425-427; and in personal communication. Additional details of the base-camp system were secured from the former Director of District Services and Native Affairs, E. W. P. Chinnery; Assistant District Officer A. Ellis; and Patrol Officer G. Greathead. A base camp under Patrol Officer J. W. Hotchkiss was visited at the Yellow River, Sepik District.

which befell government patrols toward the end of 1936 are illustrative of some of the pitfalls in the path of peaceful penetration.

A Patrol Officer was in charge of a base camp on the Rai Coast (Madang District), among an uncontrolled native population noted for its warlike ways. His task was to introduce European concepts of law and order to these truculent tribes. It was afterwards established that the Officer had relaxed his discipline over his native constables to such an extent that they had stolen local pigs and garden produce and had also availed themselves of the women for sexual purposes. But no complaint was made to the white officer. One morning, however, an outwardly friendly group of women called at the camp and, during a discussion on some point of government policy, suddenly drew butcher knives from their net bags and fell on the Patrol Officer. His foresight—he was wearing a coat of kerosene-tin armor under his jacket—probably saved his life, but he suffered terrible lacerations about the head and subsequently had to have a leg and an arm amputated. Thus the work of peaceful penetration in this area had gone for naught, and punitive patrols were sent in.

Despite the sympathy extended to him, the general comment of the European community was that the Officer had only himself to blame, and he was severely rebuked by the Administrator. It is common knowledge among Europeans that employed natives and native troops will abuse their authority in free villages unless their master keeps them carefully in hand at all times. The Patrol Officer knew this, but by relaxing his discipline over his charges he allowed a situation to develop which was fraught with intense ill-feeling and the desire for revenge.

The other case came about through a defect in the system of native administration rather than from dereliction of duty. A Cadet of the Morobe District Field Staff had been detailed to apprehend the instigators of a series of inter-tribal murders among certain hinterland peoples not yet under control. He located the community which had been immediately responsible for the fighting and succeeded in arresting three of the ring-leaders. These men were handcuffed together, and the march back to the coast was begun. The fellow tribesmen of the prisoners, however, refused to stand idly by. They took matters into their own hands and ambushed the government party. The Cadet, struck by over a dozen arrows, was seriously wounded, and, although his police succeeded in carrying him out to the nearest government post, he expired shortly after.

This tragic case would undoubtedly have been averted had the Cadet been given a larger patrol. A large armed force would have put greater fear of a counter-attack into these natives. But that is not the crux of the matter, for such a precaution would not have resolved native resentment at the seizure of the men. The difficulty arises from a paradox in the Government's native policy. The Government is dedicated to the task of bringing European concepts of law and order to the aborigines, but at the same time to refrain from making radical alterations in native culture. Obviously, if there is no conception of the new code among a native group, it cannot be expected to condone the arrest and forced removal of its members for behavior which is not criminal according to its own lights.

Cases such as that in which the Cadet lost his life would not arise if it were not for the fact that the Civil Administration has made the jail sentence an instrument for the extension of its influence. The arrest of natives in areas which know next to nothing of government regulations differs in no essential detail from the former kidnappings by administration officials. Raw natives, such as those seized by the punitive patrol, are given light jail terms, during which they acquire a knowledge of Melanesian pidgin and a rudimentary idea of the new regulations. They are then sent back to their tribes to act as interpreters of the new order.³⁵

JUSTICE

It is axiomatic that any general plan of administration which aims at achieving success when applied to a large number of diverse cultures must have sufficient elasticity to fit a wide range of local concepts and conditions. This point is especially pertinent in New Guinea, where long isolation of the many discrete societies has resulted in the formation of countless linguistic barriers and local variations.

By allowing all but the obviously anti-social native customs to be practiced under the *luluai* system, the Australian Administration has adapted itself to the many minor differences in local customs. Indirect rule is

³⁵ Ex-convicts from the hinterland areas are frequently appointed *luluai* by the Government. This practice was begun in Papua by Sir William MacGregor and has been extensively used by the Australians in New Guinea. The reason is obvious: ex-convicts have had intimate contact with white authority and are best able to interpret to their unsophisticated fellow-villagers the European concepts of law and order. Little social stigma attaches to a prison sentence, except in the older centers of contact. The Government tries to be lenient, however, in cases which arise out of the conflict of the new laws with aboriginal beliefs and practices.

now the conscious goal of native administration, for, in the high-sounding phrases of the mandate, Australia's "sacred trust" will be fulfilled only when the New Guineans have learned to govern themselves.

The fulfillment of the conditions of indirect rule had made little noticeable progress during the period of German Administration. During the early years of the Australian civil regime, however, it became apparent that *luluais* were actually assuming the minor magisterial powers which from the beginning were supposed to go with their office.³⁶

The trend toward the assumption of political authority by village officials is especially marked in the rising importance of the *tultul*. It is a significant fact that nowadays the *tultul* is, more often than the *luluai*, the village leader in all matters involving Europeans and European contact. In this may be seen the increasing dominance of *kanaka* culture, as contrasted with purely aboriginal modes of life. Originally only an interpreter, the present-day *tultul* acts as the spokesman for returned indentured laborers and is generally the progressive leader of the community. The *lulai*, surrounded by tribal elders who have never worked for the white man, clings to the past; he retains his authority to settle disputes according to traditional standards of right and wrong. But the *tultuls* are the men who are able to tell what the Government's reactions will be in such matters.³⁷

Although the village officials are exercising increased authority within their own villages, they have no instrument for the control or arbitration of inter-village relations.³⁸ The *Pax Britannica* has made possible many

³⁶ In 1924 the Commonwealth Government engaged Col. John Ainsworth, former Chief Native Commissioner of Kenya Colony, to make a survey of native problems and native administration in the Mandated Territory. Col. Ainsworth pointed to the fact that while all judicial authority was theoretically confined to District Officers—making *luluais* useless functionaries in what amounted to direct rule—in practice the *luluais* were assuming unto themselves judicial status in minor village matters, thus instituting indirect rule of their own accord (*Report to the Council of the League of Nations* (1925), p. 59; also S. Roberts, *Population Problems of the Pacific*, p. 165).

³⁷ The *luluai* system is now in a period of transition and automatic evolution. I believe that, unless the Government intervenes, the *luluai* will soon become once more the spokesman for his whole group, and the *tultul* will sink to a position of secondary importance. This will come about automatically as the older *luluais* die and men who have worked for Europeans are chosen for the posts. As yet there are no fixed rules for succession, but in several cases the Government has elevated *tultuls* to the rank of *luluai*.

³⁸ Shortly before the War the Germans appointed a few *paramount luluais* in the regions of longest contact. These were *luluais* whose natural gifts would enable them to act as supervisors of the *luluais* in their districts. The Civil Administration has revived this office (the officials are now called *paramount chiefs*), but so few appointments have been made and the position depends to such a degree on the personality of the men chosen that little can be said of the office as such.

more contacts between native villages, and this in turn has given rise to conflicts over differing concepts of native law and custom. Formerly such cases would have been settled by force of arms, but nowadays an appeal may be made to a government official to adjudicate the matter. Here the ingenuity and understanding of the white official are of greatest significance, for there are few fixed rules of procedure for such cases. The following case which was brought before the District Officer at Madang will illustrate the type of difficulties which are faced in all parts of the Territory.

A native girl had been "sold" in marriage by her parents to a man of a neighboring tribe. The husband died shortly after the marriage, and a dispute arose concerning the status of the widow. According to the custom of her own tribe she was supposed to return to her parents for "resale;" the custom of her deceased husband's tribe, with whom she resided, dictated that she automatically became the wife of her late husband's brother (levirate).

Representatives of the two tribes involved, unable to come to an understanding, brought the case before the District Officer. The latter decided that she should marry her brother-in-law since she was still a resident of the village into which she had married—possession being nine points of the law in his sight. But the girl either ran away or was spirited back to her own tribe and the case was reopened.

In the second instance the District Officer decided to let the girl choose for herself, and when she indicated a desire to return to her parents the official thought the matter had been settled. It was not long before she was sold again in marriage; but, disliking her new mate, she deserted him, and the Officer was called on a third time to rectify the situation. He took the only remaining course which he could think of and married her to one of his police troops.

The solution of the above case serves to illustrate a fairly important point concerning the legal codes for natives, and that is that once contact has been established, the native accepts almost without question the European right and authority to make and enforce laws.³⁹ It is difficult

³⁹ J. Todd, "Native Offenses and European Law in South Western New Britain," *Oceania*, Vol. 5 (1935), p. 459. This statement does not hold true for all tribes during the first phases of contact, as the numerous outbreaks testify. Few tribes had such an outspoken opponent of white encroachment as the village of Timbunki (Iatmul area) on the Sepik River. During the pacification of this area, in 1924, a prominent man of the village said, "Several days' journey up the river there is a white man, the District Officer.

to determine exactly what it is that makes for this acquiescence. Fear and respect for the *kiap*⁴⁰ seem to be mingled in the native mind: fear of punishment by police boys at the *kiap*'s command, and respect, amounting to open admiration, for the authority of the officer over his smartly trained police troops. The natives do not accept regulations because they believe that the white man knows what is best, for it is rare to find natives with the sympathetic confidence that such an attitude would demand. It is true that among the younger men there is a growing appreciation of the enforced peace, but the administration's motives are still suspect. This state of mind frequently leads to the concealment of petty quarrels which may later become sources of serious upheavals.

Fear and respect of the Government's strength condition the natives to bow to its authority. This may be called negative acquiescence. Positive acquiescence appears in the frequently expressed desire to have the Government, with its superior fighting equipment and organization, for an ally. Each tribe or village that makes its peace with the Government seems to regard the pact as unilateral. Again and again government officers are requested to bring their police and assist in some retaliatory raid. The tribe that lodges the complaint always wants to be allowed to accompany the patrol in order to gain revenge for itself. The Germans did sometimes make use of native allies on punitive expeditions, but the present Administration avoids any entangling alliances.⁴¹

The real test of the acceptance of Australian justice is in the courts. We find that the system of courts, which is based on the British model, is readily understood when explained to the natives in simple terms. The lowest courts are the Courts of Native Affairs held by the District Officer, Assistant District Officer, or Patrol Officer, in the villages or at government stations. Above the Courts of Native Affairs are the District Courts, presided over by the District Officer in each Administrative District of the Territory. The highest court is the Central or Supreme Court at Rabaul. Most cases are settled in the lower courts; all major criminal offences are judged by the Central Court.

Several days' journey downstream there is a white man, the missionary. That makes two. Two too many" (quoted by G. Townsend, "The Administration of the Mandated Territory of New Guinea," *Geographical Journal*, Vol. 82 (1933), p. 431).

⁴⁰ Melanesian pidgin for a member of the Department of District Services and Native Affairs.

⁴¹ Patrol Officers in all parts of the Territory report being importuned to lead retaliatory raids. Twice during our residence among the Kwoma they requested that they be allowed to accompany government patrols into enemy territory.

The New Guinea courts take cognizance of five classes of offences, four criminal and one civil.⁴² It is not possible in every case to fit the offence into this framework, for it is often very difficult to distinguish between a crime and a tort. The classification, we notice, is essentially European,⁴³ super-imposed upon, and in some cases combined with, native concepts of right and wrong. It is only in part an adaptation of native codes, however, for it passes over many offences—such as violation of kinship taboos, avoidance customs, and taboos on sacred places—which are crimes in the aboriginal cultures.

The four classes of crimes are as follows:

- (1) Crimes of native against native which endanger the peace and are repugnant to European morals. These include warfare, homicide, head-hunting, cannibalism, immolation of widows, sorcery, rape, incest, and sodomy. These crimes are punishable by fines, imprisonment, penal servitude, and death.
- (2) Crimes of native against native which are partly criminal and partly civil: assault, adultery, and theft. These are punishable by fines and imprisonment.
- (3) Infringements of ordinances by natives. These are more in the nature of misdemeanors than criminal acts as defined in European law proper. Also, they apply more extensively to indentured laborers than to free villagers.
- (4) Native offences against Europeans (and vice versa) are treated as a special class of crime.

Offences which are classified as torts by the Government include the many economic, marital, and social disputes which constantly arise in native villages. In these cases the Administration aims at mediation backed by its own authority rather than punishment.

Records of criminal prosecution of natives heard by the Supreme Court have been summarized each year in the official reports prepared for the Permanent Council of the League of Nations. Analysis of these returns leads to the general conclusion that enforcement of the law has become steadily more strict. In the first place, the number of criminal cases involving natives tried before the Supreme Court has almost doubled

⁴² J. Todd, "Native Offences and European Law in South Western New Britain," *Oceania*, Vol. 5 (1935), p. 440.

⁴³ The main body of criminal law in the Mandated Territory is taken from the Queensland Criminal Code (*Report to the Council of the League of Nations* (1923), p. 50).

since the Civil Administration took over. There were fifty-five such cases in 1921-1922, ninety-eight in 1937-1938. Secondly, there has been an increase in the number of charges for which natives have been brought to trial. In 1921 the charges were: murder, manslaughter, rape, sodomy, and breach of local ordinances. Today this list is greatly extended. Legislation has made many specific crimes indictable, so that now the returns are listed under the following general headings: offences against morality, offences against the person, assaults on females, offences relating to property, and offences relating to the administration of justice.

The sentences of the Supreme Court in cases of serious crime—death by hanging, long imprisonment, and deportation to some remote government post—create a profound impression not only on those immediately involved but on their village mates and on all natives who hear of the cases. The seriousness of being haled before the highest court is fully appreciated. The major part of the administration of justice, however, falls to the Courts of Native Affairs and the District Courts. Since 1928, returns have been given annually summarizing the business of these courts. The figures show that the number of minor offences tried have virtually doubled in a decade. The total number of cases heard before Courts of Native Affairs was 1,253 in 1927-1928, 2,795 in 1937-1938. The District Courts heard 1,447 cases in 1927-1928, 1,702 in 1937-1938.⁴⁴

There is no sharp line of demarcation between the jurisdiction of a Court of Native Affairs and a District Court. The cases heard before each are widely varied and have been made increasingly specific. Minor regulations have been added to the legal code, so that the native must adapt himself to a growing body of codified taboos. The introduction of new machines and pastimes and the Government's waxing concern for native morality are responsible for the naming of many new crimes. Nowadays, natives may be haled into court to answer such novel charges as "driving a motor vehicle in a negligent manner," "riding a bicycle without lights," "practicing cruelty to animals," "gambling," "using obscene language," or "being in possession of knuckledusters."

Nearly one-half of all cases tried before the District Courts involve indentured laborers who have either deserted their place of employment or neglected their duties. That these cases occupy the first place on the

⁴⁴ Figures taken from *Reports to the Council of the League of Nations* for the years 1929 and 1939. It should be remarked that during the period noted, approximately 150,000 native names were added to the census.

dockets of these courts is, I think, directly attributable to the fact that employers are not permitted themselves to inflict punishments on their indentured help. According to law the only punitive action an employer may take on his own initiative for minor breaches of discipline among his workers is the withholding of the weekly issue of tobacco.⁴⁵ Any person who inflicts flogging or corporal punishment of any kind (such as deprivation of liberty or the administration of drugs) is guilty of a crime and becomes liable to a maximum fine of one hundred pounds and/or imprisonment up to six months.⁴⁶

Crimes of second frequency in the District Courts are property offences, such as stealing. Then come, in order, "behaving in a riotous manner," assault, moral offences, and tax-dodging. Homicide stands far down the list.

In cases heard before the numerous Courts for Native Affairs, the most frequent charge is "absence from quarters between the hours of 9 p.m. and 6 a.m." This, of course, has exclusively to do with indentured workers. Cases of assault, however, are almost as numerous as "absence from quarters," and involve free natives as well as the indentured. The vague charge of "disobedience of lawful orders" is the next largest category,

⁴⁵ Section 65 of the *Native Labour Regulations* in the *Laws of the Territory of New Guinea*, quoted in *Report to the Council of the League of Nations* (1923), p. 57. The employer may take the case to the District Court and the latter may punish by imprisonment up to fourteen days and/or loss of wages for the same length of time (Section 59).

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, Section 72. During 1936-37, thirty Europeans and two Asiatics were tried on the charge of assaulting their employees. These figures are slightly lower than in some preceding years. Neither of the Asiatics but twenty-one of the Europeans were found guilty and convicted. The amount of illegal punishment of natives that goes on is impossible to determine, but it is obvious to all who have been in the Territory that the cases brought to trial represent only a fraction of those which occur. There is an organized body of non-official opinion (The Citizens' Association of Rabaul, with branches in all European towns) which is currently agitating for a return to the German system of granting flogging permits. It is the contention of this organization that proper control of the natives, particularly indentured laborers, is impossible without some such device. Appeals for a return to the sanctioned use of force by white settlers are usually couched in slogans about white prestige and the danger of sexual attacks on white women by natives.

The enforcement of the ordinance against corporal punishment varies with individual government officials. A few who are contemptuously referred to as "*kanaka* men," i.e., as officers who place the welfare of the natives above or on a par with that of resident Europeans, do attempt to prosecute every case that comes to their attention. The majority, however, are lenient, sometimes lax, in their attitude toward illegal punishment. Usually it is only when natives have been seriously injured or have died as a result of rough treatment that the cases are brought to court. Several government officials independently gave me this bit of advice: "When you hit a native, never strike him below the chin." The reason for this is that most natives have enlarged spleens from chronic malaria. If the spleen is ruptured death invariably results.

while adultery occupies fourth place. Then follow, in order, theft, possession of intoxicants, behaving in a threatening manner, failure to appear for census, escape from custody, and sorcery.⁴⁷

The percentage of conviction secured in the lower courts is very high: 86 percent in the District Courts and 95 percent in the Courts of Native Affairs.⁴⁸ The discrepancy between the two figures is accounted for by the fact that roughly 10 percent of the cases in the District Courts are transferred to the high court in Rabaul. Too few cases involving Europeans are heard to offer any valuable basis of comparison of rates of conviction in the two caste groups. The legal procedure followed in the investigation of cases concerning natives differs from ordinary British procedure in a fundamental way which may be a contributory factor to a higher rate of conviction for the natives. This is the fact that the courts hear and take down all of the evidence in the case before the native defendant is brought to trial. If the evidence is not sufficient for indictment, the defendant is discharged; otherwise the trial follows.⁴⁹

INDENTURED LABOR AND RECRUITING

A traditional rationalization has been that it is for the New Guinea native's own good that he should be made to work for Europeans. This is perfectly understandable in view of the absolute economic dependence of Europeans on the native. It is small wonder,

⁴⁷ Of all the crimes recognized by the Government, sorcery is the one for which there is the least satisfactory solution. Not only is the practice firmly embedded in the native cultures; it is also intensely secret and difficult to detect. It ordinarily involves persons whose participation in the event does not always conform to European concepts. Punishment may be inflicted on sorcerers who openly admit practicing the art, thereby extorting from and intimidating other natives. This does not get at the root of the custom, which is the belief in the sorcerers' magic. Overt sorcery is a menace to public order and safety, but there is the danger that punishment by the Government will merely increase the sorcerer's reputation by recognizing his power.

⁴⁸ These are average figures covering the last decade, during which judicial statistics have been made available.

⁴⁹ *Judiciary Ordinance No. 4 of 1924*, Part VI, "Proceedings in Case of Indictable Offense." Quoted in *Report to the Council of the League of Nations* (1925), Appendix C, p. 105.

therefore, that the white man seeks to justify his employment of natives on moral grounds.⁵⁰

Taxation of the natives was one of the devices by which the Germans sought to create a stable labor supply, and this expedient has been maintained by the Australian Government. A head tax of ten shillings is now levied (in villages deemed taxable) on able-bodied males between the approximate ages of fifteen and forty. The following classes are not required to pay the tax.

- (a) natives serving under indenture;
- (b) natives who are sick or otherwise incapacitated for work;
- (c) members of the native constabulary;
- (d) village officials (*luluai, tultul, "dokta boi"*) and native teachers;
- (e) native students at mission or government schools;
- (f) natives who have four children by one wife.

The Government's bias in favor of the working native is obvious in this list of exempt persons.⁵¹

It is difficult to determine how important a part taxation plays in persuading the native to be recruited. The reason for this is that the tax load varies widely within any given district. Some tribes, for example, are situated close enough to centers of European concentration so that they may acquire money easily by performing casual labor. Others may have frequent opportunities to sell coconuts, marine products, or sago meal to European traders.⁵² Nevertheless, there are tribes at greater distances from

⁵⁰ "The natives must be induced to work," says the official *Report* of 1923, "for unless the native is given both physical exercise and interest in life to replace the occupations and excitements of his former savage life, he will surely die out" (*Report to the Council of the League of Nations* (1923), p. 52).

A commentator signing himself "Criticus" writes in the *Rabaul Times* of March 22, 1929 (No. 205) as follows:

"The natives of New Caledonia are a better type than the natives of this Territory, and it is work that they have to thank for their condition. As soon as the natives here (i.e., New Guinea) are made to work, the healthier they will be, and the less call there will be for the expenditure by the Government of large quantities of medicine for the curing of native ailments, which are nothing more than the result of pure laziness on the part of the Kanaka. In addition to making him healthy, it would also help to make him honest, though, there is no getting away from the fact that corporal punishment . . . will have to be applied here . . . until the Kanaka is taught that honesty is the best and most painless policy."

⁵¹ We may also note the rudimentary "population policy" of the Government with respect to native society in (f).

⁵² On the Sepik River, a man and wife can prepare enough sago in two days' time to pay the entire tax. Government posts and private European traders have standing orders for sago to feed their police boys and employees respectively. As a rule, however, natives avail themselves of this opportunity to acquire wealth only at the time of tax-collecting.

European settlements which are virtually dependent on the wages of indenture for their tax money. A demographic study in the Morobe District made by an officer⁵³ in the New Guinea Government indicates a significant correlation between the incidence of taxation and the signing-on of indentured laborers. The conclusion is drawn that as the population is brought under control and taxes are assessed there is a rapid increase in the percentage of indentured labor removal, from zero to 20 percent (of the adult males). This percentage is maintained while the lure of adventure and the desire for new goods remains strong. Subsequently it drops to 15 or 10 percent.

In the early days of the Civil Administration, native taxes were a relatively more important source of revenue than they are today. In 1921-1922 proceeds of the Native Head Tax amounted to £20,545 in the total revenue of £257,506. In 1936-1937 it amounted to only £20,480 in a total of £506,397. This uniformity in the tax returns over a fifteen-year period seems surprising, at first glance, in view of the great increase in the enumerated native population. It is explainable, however, by the fact that villages are not taxed until they are fully under control and also by the fact that an increasing number of natives are working under indenture and are thus exempt.⁵⁴

Enough has already been said of the indenture system in pioneer days and under the Germans to obviate the necessity for recalling its basic features at this time.⁵⁵ What we must note here is the fact that the Australian Government, while professing dissatisfaction with this method of employment, has been forced to use it to the virtual exclusion of any other method.⁵⁶ This is an excellent example of an institutional adjust-

⁵³ L. Vial, "Some Statistical Aspects of the Population in the Morobe District, New Guinea," *Oceania*, Vol. 8 (1938), pp. 383-397.

⁵⁴ Although tax-dodging is a not uncommon misdemeanor in villages under control, it is instructive to note the attitude toward taxation of many tribes in marginal areas. The Kwoma, for instance, having been under control for so short a period, are not required to pay taxes (1937). They hold this to be no blessing, however. On the contrary, they now importune government officers to allow them to *tromwe takis* (Melanesian pidgin, "throw away tax"—specifically, "pay" the tax). They have become very sensitive to criticisms of their untaxed condition by River natives, and resent being called "bush kanaka" for not having to contribute. It is worth ten shillings to Kwoma vanity to be like the more sophisticated natives of the "Big Sepik."

The Manus people of the Admiralty Islands likewise do not resent being taxed. It gives them satisfaction to boast of the amount of taxes their village has to pay (See M. Mead, *Growing Up in New Guinea*, p. 309).

⁵⁵ In Chapter VII we shall take up in more detail the position of the working native in this system.

⁵⁶ *Report to the Council of the League of Nations* (1923), p. 51.

ment which has become so deeply embedded in both the European colonial economy and the native cultures as to defy rapid change. It is not our duty to decide whether or not the indenture system is the best measure for getting work from an irresponsible and unskilled labor body; it is simply the adjustment which has suited most of the needs of Europeans and natives alike. The natives themselves prefer it to the only alternative, *i.e.*, casual labor, for they are conditioned to work for Europeans away from their native villages. They also have become thoroughly accustomed to receiving their wages (except for monthly pin-money called "current wages") in a lump sum at the end of their contract. They fully realize that they could never save the money unassisted. Only in recent years has casual labor been resorted to by natives in lieu of indentured service, and this phenomenon is primarily confined to the larger European settlements. Out of this variation new problems of administration are arising, for casual labor has no traditional codes of its own. It is, in fact, a revolutionary development which may eventually supplant the indenture system.

Bequeathed the indenture system, the Civil Administration is faced with the task of making it work and, by strict regulation, of removing the stigmata of blackbirding and slavery which have become associated with it. To analyze New Guinea's native labor legislation in its development since 1921 would be a study in itself; and, significant as that evolution has been for the structure of modern New Guinea society, it cannot be treated *in extenso* in this paper. For our present purposes it will suffice to sketch, in outline, the substance of the laws regarding native labor that are now operative.

The Native Labour Ordinance of 1935,⁵⁷ the latest code promulgated, is an elaborate document of twelve Parts containing 131 Sections. The very fact of the scope and complexity of the regulations it establishes gives us a significant clue to the importance of this matter in the eyes of the Administration. The Parts of this ordinance and their relevant sub-headings are worthy of note, for in them we may see the trend toward a more strict administrative control over the whole institution.

Part I—Preliminary

Part II—Recruiting

who may recruit; what natives may not be recruited; procedure to be followed by a recruiter; responsibility for repatriation of laborers.

⁵⁷ *Territory of New Guinea. No. 20 of 1935. An Ordinance Relating to Native Labour* (Rabaul, 1935).

Part III—Contracts and General Conditions of Employment

contracts defined; procedure to be followed in signing-on laborers; conditions of work and living arrangements of laborers at place of employment.

Part IV—Wages

fixing of minimum wages to be paid employees; employer to post bond guaranteeing employee's wages.

Part V—Health

provisions for medical treatment and safeguards to native health prescribed.

Part VI—Desertion

legal status of deserters defined.

Part VII—Transfer of Contracts

regulations governing the transfer of employees between employers.

Part VIII—Determination of Contracts

procedure to be followed in signing-off laborers; grounds for prior termination of contract; procedure to be followed in re-signing of contracts.

Part IX—Non-indentured Labor (casual labor)

who may be employed; terms of service (6 Sections only).

Part X—Removal of Natives from the Territory

prohibition on removal except with express permission of the Administrator.

Part XI—Offenses and Provisions Relating Thereto

definition of offenses:

(a) by Europeans against natives

(b) by natives against Europeans

(c) by natives against natives

(16 Sections)

Part XII—Miscellaneous

powers of Government Officers defined in relation to this ordinance.

Further definition of this Ordinance is given in the *Native Labour Regulations, 1935*.⁵⁸ This document prescribes with great specificity the exact diet to be fed laborers, the types, quantities, and qualities of the issues

⁵⁸ Quoted in full in the *New Guinea Gazette*, No. 442, March 18, 1936, under the title "Territory of New Guinea, Regulations, 1935, No. 4. Regulations under the Native Labour Ordinance of 1935."

they are entitled to receive, and all the rest, down to the smallest details. We learn, for example, that a laborer who is employed at altitudes of less than 2,000 feet must be given one blanket (size and weight specified) once a year; those working at altitudes between 2,000 and 5,000 feet must have two blankets; and those in regions above 5,000 feet three blankets. This is simply one example of the complexity of the regulations.

Having such an elaborate code of labor regulations on the books is one thing; enforcing them is another. Even though an employer may have the best intentions, it is practically impossible for him to be thoroughly familiar with each section of the code. Many infringements are made unwittingly. Recruiting, however, is particularly open to abuse, for the recruiter constantly moves about on the outer fringes of the controlled area. It is a common saying in New Guinea that "there never was nor will be an honest recruiter." It is a time-honored custom of the recruiter, for example, to make gifts to village headmen in order to gain their assistance in inducing young men to be recruited. The Government, knowing that this practice may give rise to undue coercion, has made this practice illegal. The village officials, however, still expect a cut as their prerogative, and may actually block the recruiter who tries to comply with the law. More serious breaches of the law are not at all uncommon in the practice of recruiting. Unscrupulous white men may misrepresent the type, place, and duration of the work. They have also been known to pose as the *kiap* and remove boys by deceit. Cases of kidnapping arose as recently as 1937.

Despite the fact that the labor laws are never perfectly observed, there is, in my opinion, a remarkably high degree of conformity to them. This is attributable in no small measure to the devotion to duty exhibited by the District Officers and their subordinates. European exploiters often complain that these men make a fetish of duty; something of the sort is obvious, for the administrative officials hold themselves somewhat aloof from the rest of the European community. The Australians are keenly aware of the extreme newness of their own colonial service in comparison with that of the British proper. Nevertheless, they consciously and unconsciously emulate the practices and high ideals of the older service.

In concluding this section on native labor and administration, we may say that the Government recognizes certain advantages and disadvantages in the system of indentured labor. The outstanding disadvantages are the following:

(a) possibility that over-recruiting of a tribe or village reduces the birth rate and hastens social disintegration;⁵⁹

(b) lowering of the moral tone in large labor compounds;⁶⁰

(c) possibility of indentured laborers becoming a homeless, floating population.

An awareness of these problems enables the Government to seek palliative measures and to try to improve conditions so that such difficulties will be reduced.

The disadvantages of the indenture system are not the result of its improper administration and they are offset by certain positive gains to the native himself as well as to his employer. The advantages are as follows:

(a) constant medical care of the recruit means that he returns to his village in better physical condition than when he left;⁶¹

(b) increase of wealth and knowledge has a stimulating effect on tribal life;

(c) employment of young men satisfies their urge for excitement and adventure which otherwise might be expended in warfare and head-hunting.

Conditions may change within a few years, but the Government is trying to anticipate those changes so as to control the possible effects which may ensue. For example, legislation has already been passed making it mandatory for a native to return to his village for at least three months after having served two consecutive periods of indenture. In this way, it is hoped, the native will be enabled to keep his village life alive and to reproduce his kind. Superficial critics might think this to be simply a device by which the Government is seeking to ensure a good labor supply. That may be a factor of some importance, but it is completely overshadowed by the Government's desire to maintain the native societies in a healthy condition. The pendulum swings the other way in the matter of the treatment of aborigines.

⁵⁹ The late Director of District Services and Native Affairs confessed to be at a complete loss to know how much recruiting a village or tribe can stand before being endangered. He depended on the word of the District Officers, but they have only their impressions to go by in saying when a village should be closed to recruiters.

⁶⁰ Many officials in the New Guinea Administration are of the opinion that controlled prostitution is the obvious solution to the sex-problem in labor lines until men can be induced to bring their wives. They add, however, that the church-ridden Commonwealth Government will never allow such a measure to be legally sanctioned.

⁶¹ This is one of the most useful talking points a recruiter has in persuading young men to sign on.

HEALTH

Of all the problems with which the Administration has to deal, the general health of the native population is by far the most clear cut and amenable to treatment as a unit. European methods of treating disease supplement, if they have not yet supplanted, the native methods; and they evoke little opposition once the work is understood. The fame and prestige of the white *dokta* is, in fact, a cut above that of the *kiap* in native eyes. That the improvement of the native's physical condition by therapy and prophylaxis is a duty of the Administration is never seriously questioned. Consequently, the Department of Public Health can pursue its policies and work toward a fixed goal without serious doubts as to the effects that its particular measures may have on native society.

The disease picture in the Mandated Territory is remarkably uniform, showing no important correlation with differences in racial sub-types or in cultures. This simplifies to an appreciable extent the work of the European health officers, although they are still faced with the difficulty of reaching the more remote population enclaves in order to administer treatment.

Two principal methods have been devised by the Government to care for the health of the native population: (a) central hospitals; and (b) medical patrols. Each administrative district has at least one hospital for natives. These hospitals are conducted by qualified European doctors, assisted by native orderlies in Government employ. They care for in- and out-patients from native villages in the vicinity and also look after indentured workers who become seriously ill. In more remote regions (Ambunti, for example) the natives remain more than a little suspicious of hospitalization, but this resistance is rapidly breaking down.

The medical patrol is the means by which the Government gives assistance and sanitary instruction to villages which are at a considerable distance from a hospital or whose inhabitants still distrust the white man. The patrol is led by a medical officer in the Administration who moves slowly from village to village, checking on general conditions of health and sanitation, administering inoculations and simple medicines, and ordering the local *dokta boi* to bring any who are seriously ill to the government hospital. A total of 202,978 natives in 1,983 villages were given a cursory physical examination by medical patrols in 1938. Patrols

also visited 495 European establishments (plantations, missions, mining camps, etc.) where a total of 20,408 indentured laborers were examined. The total number of natives examined by medical officers in 1938 was 266,218.⁶²

Among all natives except those in the central plateaus, malaria is the greatest single cause of mortality and accounts for a large proportion of the deaths in infancy and childhood. This is especially the case in the coastal areas. Respiratory diseases have the worst effect among peoples of the interior of the mainland. Partial immunity to malaria is evidenced by natives who reach puberty, but any lowering of resistance precipitates an attack. Pneumonia and tuberculosis are the principal immediate causes of mortality, but they occur almost entirely among indentured laborers. Thus when discovered they can be treated immediately, whereas no treatment is given, as a rule, in cases of malarial attack.⁶³

The following table⁶⁴ shows the principal diseases in the native population and gives the relative incidence of each (patients in Administration hospitals).

<i>Conditions</i>	<i>Percentage of total morbidity</i>	<i>Mortality rate</i>	<i>Percentage of total mortality</i>
Framboesia ("yaws")	43	0.03	1
Tropical Ulcer	20	0.51	9
Malaria	2	3.77	6
Dysentery	1.2	12.26	12
Pneumonia	1.4	19.17	23
Skin Disease	5.3		
Septic Conditions	5	1.14	5
Tuberculosis	0.5	24.8	11
Traumatic Conditions	7.3	1.1	7
All Others	13.5	2.16	26

The "others" include diseases of lesser incidence such as leprosy, influenza, New Guinea mouth, filariasis. Particularly noteworthy is the fact that venereal disease is of very little importance in the disease situation

⁶² *Report to the Council of the League of Nations* (1939), p. 53.

⁶³ Medical patrols try to instruct natives to leave no containers about their village wherein the anopheles may breed. Little heed is taken of this advice, however, and there can be no check-up in remote villages.

⁶⁴ *Report to the Council of the League of Nations* (1938), p. 52.

of New Guinea. This, in fact, is one of the basic differences in the contact between Europeans and these natives from the contacts in other parts of the world. A few hundred natives are treated for gonorrhea each year, but syphilis is said to be unknown.⁶⁵ Whether or not framboesia builds up anti-bodies which destroy the syphilis spirochetes is not yet determined, but there are indications that this may be the case.

The major activity of the Department of Public Health is the campaign being waged against framboesia. This work is an extremely useful aid in the pacification of partially controlled natives, for the magical effect of Novarsenobillon injections on secondary framboesial sores makes an indelible impression on the native's mind.⁶⁶ In three days' time, ugly "strawberry" sores on the faces and legs of children practically disappear. In 1938 medical officers gave 55,595 injections of this drug for prevention and cure of framboesia.⁶⁷

Village sanitation is another matter in which Government takes a special interest. Patrol Officers outline certain specific duties which the medical *tutul* are supposed to perform. One of the major reforms enforced is that of adopting a new burial practice. The medical officers set aside an area for a cemetery which they try to make each village use. Surprisingly few complaints are voiced by natives who are forced to abandon older forms of disposal of the dead.

EDUCATION

Little needs be said of the measures introduced by the Civil Administration to give New Guinea natives an education, in the academic sense of that word. Native education has proved to be probably the most sterile of all the Australian Government's undertakings. An impressive start was made in 1922 when central institutions were established at Rabaul for technical and intellectual training of outstanding natives. But the results were far from impressive at the time, and fifteen years have seen no changes which would justify expansion along the present line. Aca-

⁶⁵ The Director of the Department of Public Health says that he has never seen a case of true syphilis in a New Guinea native.

⁶⁶ The late H. D. Eve reported that knowledge of these inoculations has diffused among countless tribes in the Sepik District who have never seen a white man. Villages entered by him for the first time were anxious for the *niyal* ("needle"). He said that he would have perfect confidence in his safety among the most remote tribes if he were armed simply with a hypodermic syringe.

⁶⁷ *Report to the Council of the League of Nations* (1939), p. 53.

demic instruction answers no need in the lives of the natives and skill in carpentry or iron-working has found as yet no place in village life.

Today there are approximately 300 natives enrolled in elementary, and seventy-five in technical, schools conducted by the Government, an infinitely small number considering only those natives whom we might regard as being of school age. At the same time, the total amount spent by the Government on native education has shrunk by more than two-thirds: £18,000 in 1923 to £5,000 in 1937. To what may we attribute the Government's failure to utilize education as a means for "improving the material and moral welfare" of the natives?

There is, of course, the fact that the missions have looked on education as one of their own particular tasks. They had functioning institutions before the Civil Administration was established; and it was hoped that the two agencies could cooperate. Another important factor is the present Administration's lack of sufficient funds to institute the type of educational system that New Guinea would require. The problem of health, moreover, is considered (not without reason) to be of greater urgency at the present than education; and the Department of Public Health considers its share of the budget far too small.

More important than the lack of funds, however, is the fact that an education along European lines is virtually useless to the New Guinea native. There is, in short, no place for an educated native in modern New Guinea. A few may become teachers, and each year a dozen or so from the technical school get positions demanding some slight skill. But there are no clerical positions, and only a few of the most menial government jobs are open to natives—educated or not. Many positions which might well be filled by natives who have received a rudimentary education are reserved for men from the ranks of Australia's unemployed.

Groves,⁶⁸ the first teacher in the Civil Administration's native school, returned to New Guinea after a ten-year absence and looked up those natives of his initial class of forty who were still living. Three, only, had become teachers as was originally expected of the whole lot. The rest were widely scattered: some in jail; some returned to tribal life; some working as indentured laborers. This case seems to show that education, under present conditions, is productive of misfits; the schooled native cannot enter European society and he cannot accept his ordinary status in his home village. Europeans distrust an educated native; that

⁶⁸ W. Groves, *Native Education and Culture-Contact in New Guinea*, pp. 70-74.

is a universal phenomenon. There is very probably some basis for this distrust, despite many exceptions, in the maladjusted youth who stands on dead center between the two cultures. Groves is convinced that "finish-time" laborers bring back to their villages fewer revolutionary ideas and seeds of unrest than do the handful of boys who receive government schooling.

Education pays no dividends as yet to the New Guinea native and he can see no reason for it. He can satisfy all his needs for communication with Melanesian pidgin, so why should he be troubled with learning English? In East Africa, where many more positions are open to natives, there is a great incentive to acquiring an education and a passionate desire to master the English language. Nothing comparable has yet appeared in New Guinea.

There is one more factor in the situation which must be noted, *i.e.*, the definite hostility of Europeans toward the native being given any education at all. One inevitably receives the impression that the Government's policy, notwithstanding its limited budget, is shaped on the do-nothing model in response to the attitude of the non-official population. The exploiting class has a very real fear that intellectual training will make the native less amenable to labor. As Pitt-Rivers⁶⁹ says, "The process of native education on European lines serves to stimulate the antagonism of the white man, for it means that the coloured man, as he becomes divorced from his native life and occupations and is equipped for trade and skilled handicraft, becomes a competitor instead of being merely a hewer of wood and a drawer of water." The whole problem of native education—if a pun be permitted—is fraught with caste-irony; and, as the caste system congeals, there is less and less likelihood that the native will ever be able to acquire equal opportunities in education. An important precedent was established in 1929, when the Government made plans to send a small group of its more successful students to Australia for higher education. European residents of New Guinea raised strong objections which led to the abandonment of the whole scheme. The Rabaul *Times*⁷⁰ exulted editorially: "We learn with pleasure that the seven natives who were to be sent to Australia did not go owing to representations made by the Citizens' Association. This should go a

⁶⁹ G. Pitt-Rivers, *The Clash of Cultures and the Contact of Races*, p. 29.

⁷⁰ No. 198, February 1, 1929.

long way towards satisfying those who expressed their indignation, and their number is legion."

Despite the fact that formal schooling (except in the missions) is denied to the vast majority of the New Guinea natives, they have a means of their own making by which they can acquire more rapidly than now the rudiments of European culture. This is the language known as Melanesian pidgin.⁷¹ Of all the phenomena of culture contact in New Guinea this shows most clearly the syncretic processes at work. Through it the natives are able to share in the shifting patterns of *kanaka* culture and also to come into more intimate contacts with Europeans. Through the new activities which contact has made possible and by means of this new *lingua franca*, the native learns in the oldest yet ever the newest school, that of experience.

⁷¹ See Appendix I, below.

CHAPTER VI

ECONOMIC PROSPECTS OF THE MANDATE

Among the diverse special interests—commercial, political, and humanitarian—underlying European penetration and settlement of New Guinea, those broadly termed economic have been basically determinative in the total course of development of the new composite society. For, capital investment, practical research, and commercial management—although their proximate goal may be profits for individuals and corporations—vitaly influence the entire social destiny of native inhabitants and European colonists alike. The progress of administrative control, the improvement of native health and moral welfare, and the spread of evangelization are all ultimately dependent upon the continuing success of European industrial organization and management.

Although several isolated native groups have not yet been brought 'under control' and participate only indirectly, if at all, in the new economy, contact and interaction between Europeans and natives has now made it all but impossible to draw a hard and fast line of distinction between original primitive economy and the new capitalistic European system. Indeed, an attempt to make such a rigid dichotomy would only obscure the dynamic reality of their present interdependence. A plantation or mine in modern New Guinea is, quite obviously, not a native institution; yet neither is it entirely a Western development. The life conditions, the Territorial regulations, the necessity for employing native labor, and the trading relationships with other countries all combine to necessitate the creation of new, composite institutions. In short, here as in other tropical lands, the emergent economic organization is a product of that phase of culture contact wherein new social forms arise out of native responses to white initiative.¹

¹ For the most exact formulation of this theoretical approach, and for specific African evidence, see the essays of B. Malinowski and others in *Methods of Study of Culture Contact in Africa*.

Preceding chapters have covered the earlier phases of European economic penetration of New Guinea, the developments during that short period of colonial settlement prior to the creation of the German Protectorate, and the history of the German chartered company, the first large-scale attempt to make of it a profitable colony.² These early adjustments were significant as models for what was to follow, and the German colonists of thirty years ago made real contributions to the present prosperity of the Mandate. Our interest now focuses, however, on the contemporary scene and the economic potentialities of the Territory as an Australian Mandate.

New Guinea's commercial progress and its absorption into world economy have been closely related to agricultural production and mineral discoveries, in the form of coconuts and gold respectively. These two commodities have attracted the bulk of European capital investment and today account for over 95 percent of the value of the exports of the Territory. Intensive agricultural specialization, characterized by the appearance of 'factories in the field,' is typical of economic developments in the South Seas as a whole; yet the statement that "today colonial prosperity is largely founded upon mineral production"³ would seem to hold for New Guinea, more than 65 percent of whose export value for the year ending June 30, 1938, was in gold. Nevertheless, despite the profit importance of gold, agriculture is the real life blood of the territorial economy. Mining developed opportunely, shortly before the late world-wide economic depression, and, through revenue and employment, prevented drastic curtailment of administrative services during that trying period. But the future of mining and other extractive industries in New Guinea is problematical, while the steady progress of agricultural research and development holds promise of increasing rewards in time to come.⁴

² H. Blum's *Neu-Guinea und der Bismarckarchipel* was one of the earliest attempts to present an economic analysis of the Protectorate. Blum was highly critical of the incomplete, frequently incorrect, statistics which officials had gathered (*op. cit.*, pp. 58-59).

³ Royal Institute of International Affairs, *The Colonial Problem*, p. 276.

⁴ Other resources of the Territory have yet to be commercially developed. Some lumbering is carried on, but for reasons mentioned above (Chapter I, p. 10) the outlook is not likely to attract investors for some time to come. The possibility of building up an export trade in minor forest products seems somewhat better. With respect to the establishment of commercial fisheries, much will depend on the creation of markets. The fish are there (see Chapter I, p. 11), but how to dispose of them profitably is still the problem. Marine shell, on the other hand, has always been a profitable export, but shellfish beds have been so far depleted that its present value is scarcely more than £12,000 per year. Proper control, planting, and conservation may re-build this industry somewhat.

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

Of New Guinea's approximately 57,000,000 acres, of which about 60 per cent are estimated to be cultivable, the total area of land listed for European agricultural plantations in 1938 was but 496,098 acres; and only 243,036 acres were actually under cultivation. The complete dominance of a single cash crop, coconuts, is apparent in the fact that 233,071 of these acres are devoted to their production. Four hundred and sixty-four plantations produced 73,716 tons of copra valued at £A 847,734 in the last year for which statistics are complete (1938).⁵ In terms of actual coconut production, this tonnage of copra (reckoning 5,000 nuts to the ton) represents the huge total of 368,500,000 nuts. In recent years the South Sea area as a whole has supplied about one-eighth of the world output of copra.⁶ The Mandated Territory, largest single producer in this region, now contributes about one-twentieth of the world's copra exports.⁷

COPRA PRODUCTION IN NEW GUINEA FROM 1908 TO 1938*

Year	Tons	Value (£A)	Year	Tons	Value (£A)
1908	6,172	77,473	1923	32,648	619,715
1909	8,498	108,612	1924	34,974	686,519
1910	9,078	151,956	1925	39,151	815,938
1911	9,382	166,596	1926	45,806	1,016,930
1912	11,170	202,602	1927	47,613	849,882
1913	14,266	302,186	1928	62,285	1,176,040
1914	(no records)		1929	60,435	933,769
1915 (6 months)	9,451	72,976	1930	63,832	864,358
1916	11,062	161,119	1931	62,303	716,543
1917	18,582	267,277	1932	59,452	618,298
1918	19,708	369,837	1933	59,040	543,906
1919	14,886	244,314	1934	62,270	283,329
1920	22,708	745,057	1935	56,251	361,413
1921	23,735	644,045	1936	66,684	761,309
1922	25,894	474,110	1937	76,409	1,231,309
			1938	73,716	847,734

*Figures taken from G. Thomas, "Land Settlement in New Guinea," *Australian Quarterly*, Vol. 10 (1936), p. 51; and *Report to the Council of the League of Nations* (1938 and 1939).

⁵ *Report to the Council of the League of Nations* (1939), p. 102.

⁶ F. M. Keesing, *The South Seas in the Modern World*, p. 322

⁷ R. E. P. Dwyer, "A Survey of the Coconut Industry in the Mandated Territory of New Guinea," *New Guinea Agricultural Gazette*, Vol. 2 (1936), p. 2.

While the export of copra has gone on steadily since the earliest days of white settlement in the Territory, the Germans, as already mentioned, tried many abortive experiments in the cultivation of such crops as cocoa, coffee, nutmeg, rubber, tobacco, and kapok. Copra has never failed to find a market, but the great recent increase in demand has brought about a 65 percent expansion in the world's coconut acreage since the first World War. The ease of production, as contrasted with that of other plants and foodstuffs, firmly established the coconut as the most important agricultural product in the Territory. And, despite extreme fluctuations in the market price of copra, the industry itself has gone steadily forward. When the German colony surrendered to the Australian Expeditionary Force in 1914, approximately 702,000 acres had been alienated by that administration. More than half of this was held by the Neu Guinea Kompagnie, the rest by individual planters, missions, and small firms. The cultivated area at that time, however, amounted to only 86,000 acres.⁸

AVERAGE PRICE PER TON OF NEW GUINEA COPRA, 1909-1938 (£A)⁹

Year	£	s.	d.	Year	£	s.	d.
1909	12	9	6	1924	19	12	2
1910	16	7	0	1925	20	19	10
1911	17	6	11	1926	22	3	6
1912	17	7	1	1927	18	4	0
1913	21	11	8	1928	18	2	6
1914	—	—	—	1929	15	9	0
1915	—	—	—	1930	13	10	10
1916	14	11	3	1931	11	10	0
1917	14	7	8	1932	10	8	0
1918	18	15	4	1933	9	4	3
1919	16	8	3	1934	4	11	0
1920	32	16	3	1935	6	8	6
1921	27	0	2	1936	11	4	6
1922	18	6	2	1937	16	2	4
1923	18	19	8	1938	11	10	0

⁸ G. Thomas, "Land Settlement in New Guinea," *Australian Quarterly*, No. 32 (1936), pp. 50-51.

⁹ R. E. P. Dwyer, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2 (1936), p. 16; *Report to Council of the League of Nations* (1939), p. 102.

"How much land there is to how many men is the fundamental consideration in the life of any society."¹⁰ This makes an excellent starting point for any sociological analysis of New Guinea economics. But almost immediately we become involved in a series of differing cultural values placed upon the land and its utilization, not only as between the various native groups, but also as between the German and Australian administrations. The policy of the German Government, given its fullest definition in the "*Land Regulations*" of January 1, 1914, showed a clear preference for freehold tenure. Following the usual practice in the Commonwealth, however, the Australians introduced a system of land registration closely modeled on the Torrens System, and leasehold was substituted for freehold.¹¹

The Australian administration faced the task of revising the German land laws, and they were also charged with the control of expropriated German property in accordance with Article 297 of the Treaty of Versailles, whereby such properties were to be liquidated in favor of the Allies. Consequently, an Expropriation Board was set up in 1920, whose duty it was to manage the ex-German plantation interests and eventually to dispose of them by tender. By 1923 virtually all of the plantations had been taken over by the Board and were being run by Australian officials, most of whom were returned soldiers. Beginning in March, 1926, the first of three groups of plantations were put up for disposal by tender, and forty-one out of the forty-five in this group were taken by returned soldiers. The prices realized were in the vicinity of their official valuation, but in the later groups competitive bidding, abetted by large commercial firms which promised to finance the tenderers, sent the prices far higher than was warranted in view of the wide fluctuations in the world copra market. This has forced an easing of the terms of sale and the scale of payments by official legislation during the past decade.¹² Nevertheless, the large trading houses that dominate the commercial scene in New Guinea have been forced to take over many of the plantations which they originally helped to finance. Particularly was this true during the years 1932-1935, when the bottom fell out of the copra market and many individual planters were ruined. Thus, despite forestalling

¹⁰ W. G. Sumner and A. G. Keller, *The Science of Society*, Vol. I, p. 4.

¹¹ *Official Handbook of the Territory of New Guinea*, p. 168. This system of registration of titles to land has been especially well suited to conditions of settlement in virgin countries, and has been widely adopted in Australia and the Dominion of Canada.

¹² G. Thomas, *op. cit.*, *Australian Quarterly*, No. 32 (1936), pp. 52-53.

efforts of the Expropriation Board, a larger portion of the coconut industry than was anticipated has come under the control of one or two big commercial firms. The present total estimated capital value of coconut plantations is approximately £A 5,000,000; the large companies hold outright or in part over £A 1,500,000 worth of expropriated properties alone.¹³

It is the considered opinion of Keesing,¹⁴ speaking of the South Seas as a whole, that "an economic balance sheet of today shows the island groups as assets, but in few cases rich prizes for the countries controlling them." This certainly applies to the Mandated Territory, where land utilization and control have been determined both by historic factors arising out of the German beginnings of agricultural development and by the very high regard which the Australian Administration has had for native rights in the land. Coconut plantations were laid out in the early days along the more accessible stretches of the island shores and harbors, often with less attention to the quality of the soil than to other momentary advantages. Hence the areas now under coconut cultivation in the islands of the Bismarck Archipelago account for 79 percent of the total area planted: 191,815 acres as against 41,256 acres on the mainland.¹⁵ The system of agricultural leases which was introduced by the *Land Ordinance of 1922* is so hedged about with limitations and prescriptions as to make the acquirement of land for European plantation development a fairly formidable task. At best, little positive encouragement is given to prospective settlers, even though the terms of payment have been made relatively easy. What is most needed at present is an intensive, Territory-wide survey of all unalienated land for the purpose of estimating approximately the present holdings and probable future needs of the natives. Such a survey, properly carried out, would require the combined efforts of government officers, men trained in anthropological investigation, and agricultural experts. Their findings should indicate where, under existing territorial legislation, agricultural development could be carried forth, and what types of crops would be best suited to specific areas. The process of acquiring land by the prospective planter would then be greatly speeded.

From its rude beginnings in the casual purchase of native nuts and

¹³ R. E. P. Dwyer, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2 (1936), p. 7.

¹⁴ F. M. Keesing, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

¹⁵ On the basis of figures from *Report to the Council of the League of Nations* (1939), p. 92.

copra, the New Guinea coconut industry has become a highly specialized undertaking. No longer can a planter who wishes to succeed ignore the newer methods of production and the results of scientific research in the raising of coconuts. Competition on the world market has become so keen that the Administration has passed legislation making it an offense to produce for export copra which falls below certain standards of quality. The individual planter is bound to be more or less at the mercy of fluctuations in price, but he can guard against pests and disease, inefficient use of his native labor, and excessive costs of production—by utilizing modern scientific methods of production and business procedure.

This is not the place to go into an extended examination of the methods and problems of coconut and copra production. Nor has the author the specialized knowledge which this would entail.¹⁶ It will be worth while, however, to present some of the basic characteristics and conditions of normal plantation production. The coconut palm requires a combination of sun, water, and warmth, and grows best in well-drained alluvial flats or along the sea coasts at low altitudes. The size of plantations and methods of production show considerable variation; but agricultural leaseholds are set by law at a maximum of approximately 4,800 acres ("2,000 hectares"), and improved methods of cultivation are followed on the more successful holdings. Employing native labor, the planter clears the ground and "lines out" six-month old plants taken from his nursery. Fifty trees to the acre is about the average density of planting: slightly less if the "lining out" is done in squares, slightly more if done according to a hexagonal system. The space between the trees is sown with leguminous cover crops and creepers which keep out noxious grasses, such as *kunai*, which reduce the yield of the palm. Green manures are used and constant tillage is practiced on all the better plantations.

Roughly ten years are required to bring a new plantation into full bearing. During that period cultivation must be maintained, insect pests of many sorts eradicated or kept under control, and cover crops tended. Various factors determine the proper time to begin new planting: knowl-

¹⁶ The information contained in this section has come largely from sources already cited, e.g., the works of R. E. P. Dwyer, Economic Botanist in the Department of Agriculture, Territory of New Guinea; Gordon Thomas, editor of the *Rabaul Times*, himself a planter with years of experience in the Territory; and the *Official Handbook of the Territory of New Guinea*. Much information was supplied to me during my stay in New Guinea by personal communication with planters and overseers, too numerous to mention by name, as well as with the Director of the Department of Agriculture, the Hon. G. H. Murray, and his assistants.

edge of conditions in other of the world's bearing areas, prognostications as to future markets; and the age of trees already in bearing on the plantation. In laying out totally new areas of cultivation, the planter may have to turn to other annual crops to pay running expenses until the trees come into bearing. The best estimate as to the cost per acre of bringing a coconut plantation to maturity is £A 10.

Once a plantation or section of a plantation reaches bearing, it can be expected to produce coconuts for the making of copra at a fairly constant rate for a period of sixty years or more. Good palms carefully tended often yield more than 100 nuts per year, but fifty nuts are considered a fair average. With fifty trees, an acre will produce enough nuts to make about half a ton of copra for export (5,000 nuts normally producing one ton of copra). If better methods of cultivation are followed, larger nuts and richer yields will result. Thus the more successful plantations need reckon only 4,000 nuts to the ton. Since mature palms bear continuously, maintenance of the plantation and copra production runs on a steady annual routine. Consequently, the yearly and seasonal cost of production, while varying somewhat among plantations, remains very uniform in each individual enterprise. On the basis of statistics supplied by planters who follow approved methods of cost-accounting, it has been suggested that the expense involved in producing copra on an average property valued at £A 4,000, employing fifty native laborers and producing 240 tons a year, is slightly less than £A 8 per ton. As indicated above, some planters produce for less, while others require more, the range being from approximately £A 4 to as much as £A 10 per ton in various districts. These figures indicate that a market price of at least £A 11 per ton must be realized by the average planter if, after paying the costs of production plus payments on the principal and interest owing on such a property, he is to show a profit.

While the following chapter will examine in more detail the role of the indentured native in agricultural and other enterprises, it will not be out of place to comment here on the European planter's attitude toward his labor force. Since white men will not undertake manual toil in this black man's country, and since the White Australia policy is respected in the Mandate, the entire labor force upon which the plantation economy depends must be recruited from among the native population. In 1938 more than 20,000 natives, almost half of the total number working in the Territory, were serving under contract on European plantations. The

planters as a group, however, are not satisfied with the New Guinea native as a worker, not only because of his inefficiency, lack of training, and irresponsibility, but also because the protective features of native administration do not allow the creation of a large reserve of workers to be drawn upon when prices are high and let go when they are low. In short, there is great difficulty in obtaining a flexible labor supply.

Recently the suggestion has been made with increasing frequency that more rapid development of the agricultural wealth of the Territory can be brought about only through the importation of both unskilled and skilled Asiatic labor.¹⁷ The immediate material advantages to European planters are quite obvious. But in the absence of full knowledge as to the ultimate effects of such a measure, discussion of the problem generally revolves around the ethical and moral considerations which underlie the obligations implicit in the mandate system and explicit in the laws of the Territory. One might argue, for instance, that those who would profit most from Asiatic immigration have been those least interested in improving the material and moral welfare of the native. Indeed, the planters have consistently opposed all steps toward granting the native even the minimal concessions that pass for civil rights among a primitive subject population.

A matter that still demands field investigation is native production of coconuts and copra for the world market. It is well known that natives in all districts, but particularly those in the older areas of settlement, sell their coconut produce, over and above what they use for themselves, to European traders.¹⁸ The true extent of this trade cannot be known until

¹⁷ See, for example, S. H. Roberts, "Racial and Labour Problems," in *The Australian Mandate for New Guinea* (F. W. Eggleston, ed.) pp. 74-84; also A. McLennan, "The Population Problem in Australian New Guinea," *Australian Quarterly*, Vol. 10 (1938), pp. 44-52. The latter writer, a non-official member of the New Guinea Administration and long a resident of the Territory, summarizes the advantages of regulated ingress of Asiatics under five headings:

- (1) an adequate supply of unskilled labor [field hands];
- (2) an adequate supply of skilled labor [artisans];
- (3) an adequate and economic supply of clerical workers ["The lower grade posts in the service could be filled as efficiently by Asiatics and at not more than one-third the cost."];
- (4) productive utilization of land not used and not likely to be used either by natives or Europeans by an industrious Asiatic peasantry;
- (5) the creation of an intermediate class of Asiatics to bridge the wide gulf between natives and white.

¹⁸ This is especially true when the market price of copra is high.

a special study is made; but a unified territorial economy can hardly be planned without such basic information.

This discussion of the modern coconut industry virtually exhausts the subject of current agricultural production in the Mandated Territory. The list of other food and plant products which follows, showing the areas planted by 1938 and their yield, indicates the essentially experimental nature of non-coconut plantings. It is also worthy of note that the great

<i>Crop</i>	<i>Number of acres under cultivation</i>	<i>Yield</i>
Cocoa	2,527	126 tons
Coffee	1,490	52 tons
Rubber	2,611	12,613 lbs.
Kapok	658	8 tons
Tobacco	101	12 tons

preponderance (77 percent) of these secondary crops are, like coconuts, raised in the islands of the Bismarck Archipelago rather than on the mainland. The forward-looking Department of Agriculture, however, is constantly at work both on its experimental plantation, Kerevat, and in field research throughout the Territory. Advice is offered to both Europeans and natives engaged in raising secondary products, and every means is employed to induce cultivation of diversified crops.¹⁹ If and when the native population can be educated to the more exacting labor involved in the cultivation of other tropical products, if and when capital investment either from Territorial or outside sources can be enticed into new plantation enterprises, and if and when a firmer stabilization of the world's agricultural situation can be achieved, then New Guinea may look forward to occupying a vastly more important place in agricultural production. Such commercial crops as sugar cane, rice (wet and upland), and palm oil, in addition to the products listed above, should all grow successfully, given proper care according to the best modern methods of cultivation.

MINING ENTERPRISE

Since the earliest voyages of discovery in the sixteenth century, the hope has been entertained that New Guinea would prove to be a treasure house of mineral wealth. Systematic prospecting was begun in the

¹⁹ The Commonwealth Government also hopes to foster new crop undertakings through a system of bounties established under the *Papua and New Guinea Bounties Act, 1926-37*.

Territory of Papua as early as the 1870's, and several small alluvial fields were discovered and worked both in the islands of the Southeastern Division and on the mainland. So great were the difficulties and so meager the returns, however, that no real development was possible.²⁰ But the possibility of a rich strike was always present, and the Germans, shortly after their annexation of what is now the Mandated Territory, renewed the search in the more accessible regions. A number of fruitless ventures around the turn of the century disappointed the Neu Guinea Kompagnie, and it was not until the year 1908 that the question of gold was again brought seriously to the attention of the German Government by a flurry of applications for mining permits—mostly by Australians who had drifted over from Papua—along the Waria River in the southeast corner of the Protectorate.²¹

A constant succession of hardy prospectors, few in number but resolute in purpose, carried on from the closing years of the German regime down to the mid 'twenties, except for the period of the war. The hopes of those who persevered were richly fulfilled in 1926 when W. G. Royal, A. Chisholm, and R. M. Glasson, in the face of tremendous difficulties of travel and transport, discovered gold on Edie Creek, a tributary of the Bulolo River, in the Morobe District. This was the beginning of what has become the most lucrative industry in the Territory.

The dramatic story of the development of the Morobe field, a story of true pioneering in the age of machines, is probably better known to the world outside than any other phase of modern life in New Guinea. Numerous books, articles, and films have recounted the initial dangers of the undertaking, the solving of the vital problem of transport by use of the aeroplane, the technical difficulties of establishing efficient factories in the mountain fastnesses, and the creation there of flourishing European townships and communities with virtually all of the amenities of civilized life.²² The following list of figures, showing the exports of gold from the Territory since the opening of the Morobe field, clearly illustrates how rapidly production has increased within the last decade and a half. The falling off in production between 1928 and 1932 is

²⁰ See H. Murray, *Papua of Today*, pp. 19-20.

²¹ *Official Handbook of the Territory of New Guinea*, pp. 220-221.

²² D. R. Booth, in *Mountains, Gold and Cannibals*, gives a vivid account of her experiences as one of the first women residents of the Morobe field. Popular, more journalistic, summaries of the gold-field history are contained in I. Idriess, *Gold-Dust and Ashes*, and E. Demaitre, *L'Enfer du Pacifique: chez les cannibales et les chercheurs d'or de la Nouvelle-Guinée*.

accounted for by the fact that during that period the small alluvial claims which had been taken up by individual miners in the first rush to the Morobe field were being worked out, while the larger companies, using hydraulic power, stamping machinery, and enormous dredges, had not completed the developmental work necessary to bring their larger claims into full production.

GOLD EXPORT FROM THE MANDATED TERRITORY, 1926-1938 *

<i>Year</i>	<i>quantity (ounces)</i>	<i>value (£A)</i>
1926	10,068	25,170
1927	84,760	195,428
1928	113,874	256,216
1929	79,748	179,433
1930	42,819	96,338
1931	57,874	132,329
1932	108,647	398,939
1933	196,823	933,940
1934	257,511	1,367,616
1935	299,757	1,897,244
1936	302,619	1,704,498
1937	373,197	2,020,667
1938	410,058	2,028,980

* The figures are taken from *Report to the Council of the League of Nations* (1927-1939).

While the most spectacular developments of modern mining enterprise have taken place in Morobe, gold has been won from virtually all of the other districts, although in much smaller quantities.²³ An extensive but not very rich field was discovered in 1937 in the Sepik District, where alluvial mining has been carried on by about fifty European miners, producing in 1938 slightly more than 10,000 ounces of gold. The larger companies in Morobe, using machines to recover gold in paying quantities from low-grade ore, look forward to at least a dozen years of profitable production before their present claims may be exhausted. The other proclaimed fields, while capable of being worked profitably by much smaller outfits, have varying life expectancies. Very large regions still exist, especially in the uncontrolled areas in the interior

²³ Approximately 97 per cent of the gold exported from the Territory comes from the Morobe District.

of the mainland, where new and even greater discoveries may yet be made. At present, however, a fairly stable rate of productivity is foreseen, and any further developments remain conjectural. Therefore, it would seem that the wisest course for administrative policy and planning would be to concentrate on agricultural development. The revenue from gold, opportune as it has been during depression years, must be poured back into the land to form a capital investment on which to build solidly for the future.

At the present time, approximately 800 Europeans and more than 7,000 natives are engaged directly in mining enterprise, the great majority being employed in the vicinity of Wau, in Morobe. In mining, even more than in copra production, the few large companies whose capitalization is great and whose methods of production are by heavy machinery dominate the industry. Such firms are able to extract gold from auriferous fields which individual miners could never exploit with profit, for, owing to the fact that everything must be carried by air, the costs of goods, labor, and transport in the interior are very high.²⁴ The wage rate for indentured mining laborers—ten shillings per month rather than the ordinary six—is not the principal part of labor costs. Native rations constitute a much larger item in operations on the gold-fields. There one counts on a monthly labor cost of £A 4 per native rather than the usual £A 2 for work under other conditions. "It would be most inadvisable," warns the *Official Handbook of the Territory*,²⁵ "for a person to proceed to New Guinea for the purpose of mining unless in possession of between £500 and £1,000 capital. The existing gold-fields are expensive to reach, and the conditions generally are altogether adverse for miners with small means. The area is not sufficient to supply suitable ground for a large number of men, and it will be necessary for newcomers to the field to prospect new country."

Mineral deposits other than gold, e.g., osmiridium, copper, tin, sulphur, coal, and iron, have been reported in many parts of the Terri-

²⁴ After several years of discussion, the construction of a motor road connecting the coastal ports with the Morobe field has begun. This will be of great importance to the mining and commercial interests already operating in the Wau region, but it should also greatly assist new agricultural enterprises there. When the first strike was made on Edie Creek, transportation was entirely dependent upon the service of native porters, and eight days were required to cover the forty-mile air-line distance between Salamaua and Wau. Shortly thereafter, aeroplanes were making the trip in thirty minutes and less.

²⁵ P. 249.

tory, both in the islands and on the mainland.²⁶ Large-scale exploitation of these resources has not yet seemed advisable, however, owing to the paucity of the deposits, the difficulties of labor and transport, and the competition with already existing sources of supply elsewhere. The search for oil, on the other hand, has gone on and has gathered much momentum ever since the closing years of the German regime. Strategic as well as commercial considerations vitally affecting the Commonwealth of Australia have placed a mounting premium on the discovery of sources of petroleum on the island of New Guinea. This was recognized in the early years of the Civil Administration in the Territory, when the Commonwealth Government subsidized extensive geological researches on the Mainland between Madang and the Dutch border. Test drilling was actually undertaken by a private company near Marienberg on the Sepik River in 1925, but without success. Many other companies were granted licenses to prospect for petroleum during the 'twenties, but after cessation of operations by the Commonwealth Government in 1929 there was a lull for some years in active prospecting. In the 'thirties, however, special permits were granted to companies representing both British and American interests, for the purpose of continuing geological surveys and prospecting. At present, two companies have exclusive rights to prospect for oil over a total area of more than 34,000 square miles on the mainland. The search continues in this region at the present time.²⁷ While no payable oil has thus far been discovered in the Territory, the findings of geological research, together with the known incidence of oil-seepages, make it appear more than likely that commercially profitable deposits will ultimately be discovered. "Only a very small proportion of the likely country has yet been properly examined, and encouragement is to be found in the fact that oil in small amounts has been discovered in the adjacent Dutch Territory of New Guinea."²⁸ The effects on the Territory itself of the discovery of oil in payable quantities can scarcely be calculated.

²⁶ E. R. Stanley, "Report on the Salient Geological Features and Natural Resources of the New Guinea Territory," Appendix B of *Report to the Council of the League of Nations* (1923), pp. 57-67.

²⁷ *Report to the Council of the League of Nations* (1938), p. 117.

²⁸ *Official Handbook of the Territory of New Guinea*, p. 259.

COMMERCE AND FINANCE

A factor of no little importance in the economic history of the Mandated Territory is the necessity under which it has been placed to be financially self-sufficient. For almost a decade before its fall, the German regime had received an annual subsidy from the Imperial Government amounting to more than £A 50,000 to assist it in defraying the expenses of running the Protectorate. Similarly, the Territory of Papua had for years counted upon a Commonwealth subsidy, first of £A 30,000, later raised to £A 50,000, to meet its costs.²⁹ But while the Commonwealth followed the German system of colonial financing in many of its local details, the expense of maintaining the military administration during the war years was so great (over £A 1,000,000), the times were so hard, and the future so uncertain that it was decided to make the Mandate self-supporting.³⁰

This new policy placed a heavy burden on the Civil Administration during the first few years of its operation, but progress in production and a favorable trade balance soon took up the slack. Then, too, the Commonwealth Government was not totally insensible to the difficulties which were being faced in the territory and came to its assistance with a few small grants-in-aid (for health and education of the natives), an annual shipping subsidy, and loans for necessary public works. However, the great bulk of the revenue for maintenance of the administration has had to come from customs duties, public services, and license fees, approximately one-half—£A 232,300 out of £A 506,398—being derived in 1938 from the tariff on imports and exports.³¹

For this reason, the figures for external trade which follow have a special bearing, not only on the expanding economic welfare of European investors in the Territory, but also on the whole system of public services—economic, medical, legislative, and judicial—which are being gradually built up in the interest of both native and white populations. It will be seen that in only one year of the Australian regime, 1919, during the military occupation, did the value of imports exceed that of exports; otherwise a favorable balance of trade has been maintained, and the total trade has nearly quadrupled down to the late 'thirties. Not

²⁹ H. Murray, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

³⁰ See E. L. Piesse in *The Australian Mandate for New Guinea* (F. W. Eggleston, ed.), pp. 42-44.

³¹ *Report to the Council of the League of Nations* (1939), pp. 107-108.

only did the administration come to pay its own way; it was able to show a small surplus. Hence from a strictly orthodox point of view, the fiscal policy of the Mandated Territory has proved a success. But from a wider perspective, and considering the essentially human as well as the economic aspects of the problem, we may raise the query whether this fulfills the spirit of the mandate. In the well-chosen words of

EXTERNAL TRADE OF THE MANDATED TERRITORY, 1913, 1918-1938 (£A) *

<i>Year</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Imports</i>	<i>Exports</i>
1913	826,945	425,027	401,918
...
1918	662,544	258,040	404,504
1919	541,527	271,861	269,666
1920	1,356,189	506,767	849,422
1921	1,335,433	661,441	673,992
1922	967,908	468,711	499,197
1923	1,147,347	516,455	630,892
1924	1,204,169	485,634	718,535
1925	1,396,930	537,940	858,990
1926	1,673,497	568,339	1,105,158
1927	1,740,608	660,753	1,079,855
1928	2,282,858	811,832	1,471,026
1929	2,015,626	869,514	1,146,112
1930	1,875,785	878,450	997,335
1931	1,702,196	782,765	919,431
1932	1,888,016	779,397	1,108,619
1933	2,493,637	912,365	1,581,272
1934	2,690,514	924,316	1,766,198
1935	3,289,028	948,404	2,340,624
1936	3,864,039	1,290,788	2,573,251
1937	4,700,695	1,311,623	3,389,072
1938	4,591,327	1,610,967	2,980,360

* Figures are taken from the official *Report to the Council of the League of Nations*.

Keesing,³² [this] "solvency . . . does not necessarily indicate a satisfactory financial situation but rather the consequences of a stringent policy of cutting coats to the cloth of local revenues and imperial purse strings."

³² F. M. Keesing, *op. cit.*, p. 314.

In view of the very close political affiliations with their governing countries allowed to "C" class mandates, an analysis of the external trade of the Mandated Territory by country of origin and destination discloses a somewhat surprising situation. In the year 1938 the total value of goods imported to New Guinea (foods, textile products, machinery, machine products, etc.) amounted to £A 1,610,967. The principal countries of origin and values were as follows:³³

<i>Country</i>	<i>Value (£A)</i>
Australia	573,023
United States	434,129
United Kingdom	159,215
Japan	98,585
All others	346,015
Total	1,610,967

Thus the mandatory power supplies the Territory with only a trifle more than one-third of its imports. New Guinea's exports in the same year amounted to £A 2,980,360. In this case, Australia took the major share (roughly three-quarters), most of it gold. Exports to all other countries (in Europe, Asia, and the South Seas, the United States securing none that year) totaled £A 741,865.³⁴ What is especially noteworthy in these statistics is the essentially cosmopolitan character of the external trade of the Mandate in a period supposedly marked by increasing economic nationalism. Many factors contribute to this condition: special requirements of the Territory in industry and agriculture on the one hand, discriminatory tariffs and differential needs for raw materials in the world markets on the other. The fact clearly emerges that conscious large-scale planning for the economic and social development of the Territory as a whole has been avoided in favor of "natural" evolutionary methods of capitalistic enterprise.

As for New Guinea's internal trade, statistics are few, complicating factors many. Basically the problem is one involving the native—whether free villager, casual employee, or indentured worker—and his relations with the expanding agricultural and industrial system introduced by Europeans; and it is in his status as a consumer, actual or potential, that we should view him here.

³³ *Report to the Council of the League of Nations* (1939), p. 101.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

The appearance of new wants and desires among primitive peoples as they come in contact with the great wealth of Western civilization has been a universal feature of colonial expansion. The introduction of systems of currency is usually at the root of the process whereby aboriginal peoples are absorbed into the economic systems of colonies and dependencies, and the legal obligation to pay taxes insures the adoption of the new scale of values.³⁵ Use and appreciation of European goods are fostered by trader and missionary and in some instances demanded by governmental officials. They all have something to gain from the rising consumption of European goods. The trader—be he the representative of a large commercial house, an Asiatic shopkeeper, or a recruiter who carries trade-goods as a sideline—is a vital link in the chain which binds the native into the new economic system. He must constantly strive to create new demands and to stimulate new needs; for by this means, plus the mandatory payment of a head-tax, natives are soon brought to abandon their purely aboriginal pursuits and to offer themselves to European enterprise as wage-paid manpower. Here we come close to the heart of labor problems and policies in modern New Guinea.

It must not be assumed that the creation of new demands and needs is accomplished simply by showing natives all of the wonders of Western manufacture. They must be given visible proof of their benefits and an opportunity to acquire them. The essentially unchanged list of things the native purchases—tobacco, matches, calico, cheap iron utensils, and ornaments of several kinds—must be correlated with the static character of the wages which he now receives and has received for decades. Furthermore, the laudable aim of the Administration to keep native societies alive and functioning with their former vigor serves as an additional check on their rapid assimilation of European wants. These are fundamental realities which critics of the “unprogressive nature” and “backward character” of natives would do well always to bear in mind. Obviously no simple solution, such as doubling native wages by legislative fiat, can hope to raise native production and consumption to the point where natives themselves and European managers and entrepreneurs will be fully satisfied. And the system of paternalis-

³⁵ This is considered of so great importance by the Administration that Europeans are required by law to pay natives for goods or services valued at more than a shilling only in Territorial currency.

tic peonage under which they are now employed will, in the ordinary course of events, continue for some time to come. But if the full implications of the "sacred trust" are fearlessly accepted, not only by those in positions of authority but by all who hope to profit from the development of the Territory, New Guinea still holds high promise of becoming a uniquely successful experiment in civilization.

CHAPTER VII

MODERN NEW GUINEA: THE GENESIS OF A NEW SOCIETY

Out of the historic contacts between a mere handful of organized Europeans and a vast number of politically and socially unorganized native groups, a new society is being formed in modern New Guinea. Here may now be witnessed the initial stages in the gradual development of an integrated culture, characterized by new institutions of social control, new ethical sanctions on behavior, and an increasing economic interdependence between native and white. The emergent society which is actively creating this new culture divides sharply at the insurmountable barrier of caste; this factor conditions all of the evolving cultural adjustments.

We have already surveyed, in historical perspective, the various cultural components and modifying factors which have contributed to and are now functioning in this whole vast process of social and cultural change. We have stressed particularly the salient environmental features, the diverse patterns and low level of development of the aboriginal cultures, and the distinctive features of the introduced administrative institutions, the latter almost unique in the history of known culture contacts between Europeans and primitive peoples. New Guinea, then, offers to the sociologist and social historian a rare opportunity to investigate the results of continuous first-hand contact between groups whose cultures differ so radically as to represent almost the extremes of the known cultural range—that of neolithic man and that of the modern Occidental. Nevertheless, the transitional processes of contact and ensuing change seem here to follow the same basic principles that have been the determinants wherever strange cultures have met.

The catalyzing effect of European immigration into New Guinea

during the past seventy years, and the dynamic impact of European culture on hundreds of local native groups, represents, of course, simply one isolated phase in the world-wide history of European colonization. Yet, just as Melanesian pidgin has a *Sprachgeist* of its own, so too does the process of acculturation in this composite society differ in its many configurations from the same process in other peripheral areas of the world.

It is probably incorrect at the present time to speak of the total New Guinea population—white, brown, and yellow—as constituting a “society,” in the strict sense of the word. There are still many remote groups of natives who send no recruits to work on European enterprises, who are not taxed, and whose only connection with the broader cultural life of the Territory is through the contact-medium of native trade in European goods. The conscious policy of the ruling Administration, however, is to bring such groups “under control” as rapidly as possible, *i.e.*, to speed their contribution to and participation in the expanding economic, political, and social life of the modern state. This trend has already been carried so far that it will require not more than a decade—if the present rate can be maintained—to bring all the indigenous societies into permanent contact and ever greater interdependence with the institutions of the new New Guinea.

There are now—probably there always will be—two basic cultural configurations in this composite society: the European and the native. So long as the caste barrier remains to prohibit racial intermarriage, these two nexuses of social adaptation will probably continue to coexist in a superordinate-subordinate relationship. The social life of the European planter or mining official will continue to be carried on in places and circles to which natives are denied entry. And, conversely, in the native villages the initiation ceremonies, tribal dances, and *singsing*, modified though they be, will continue to express a mode of life utterly foreign to the European.

We may say, then, that two extremes of culture, between which the social distance is very great, exist in New Guinea. European clerks in government employ, wireless operators, housewives, and professional men in the white community may have only the most transitory contacts with native society through their personal servants in offices and homes. And, on the other hand, natives in uncontrolled areas and members of the older generation in many controlled villages may experience no direct contact with Europeans, save for the annual flying visit of a govern-

ment patrol. Nevertheless, the bulk of the population experiences a greater or less degree of inter-caste relationship. Plantation overseers, missionaries, miners, government officials, and Asiatic traders are in continuous first-hand contact with the large number of natives who are either employed by them or dwell in native villages close to European towns and stations. This constantly changing and constantly expanding body of natives concerns us directly, for it is among them that the folkways of the new society are being molded. It is out of this interstitial phase, this meeting ground of the two collateral cultures, that will come the new contact institutions of a composite society.

THE ROLE OF THE INDIVIDUAL IN CULTURE CONTACT

Studies of diffusion, in the technical ethnological sense of the term, are ordinarily concerned only with historic reconstructions, by other than documentary evidence, of the spread of specific traits of culture. Acculturation studies, on the other hand, are usually made from first-hand observation of the specific events which lead directly to changes in entire cultural configurations.¹ The ethnologist may reconstruct and plot the diffusion of culture traits with little or no concern for the human agents involved in the process. Nevertheless, individuals do play a significant role in cultural diffusion, and we may gain knowledge of this role by examining the process of acculturation as it is revealed by materials gathered in the field during periods of contact and change. In such close perspective, individual personalities can be distinguished and their influence evaluated.

"Every association," says Thurnwald,² "consists of personalities, and . . . the main problem is the interaction of individuals forming such associations." This is the core of the acculturation process as it works out in New Guinea or anywhere else. Indentured laborers on European-owned plantations do not come in contact with the whole vast cultural pattern known as the economic system of the Western world. They first meet *Master* So-and-So, a recruiter, who induces them to go to work for some particular white man. They are then taken before a *kia*p who explains that he will look after their rights so long as they

¹ M. Herskovits, *Acculturation*, p. 10.

² R. Thurnwald, "The Psychology of Acculturation," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 34 (1932), p. 559.

attend to their assigned duties. And, finally, they meet their employer, or his manager, who sets them certain tasks, imposes particular taboos, and gives them food, shelter, and wages. The relationships are personal throughout; and the "system" of which the working natives form an integral part consists—so far as they are concerned—simply of the various overlapping behavior patterns which regulate these relationships.³

The role of individual personalities in culture contact presents a double aspect. The kinds of Europeans whom the natives meet constitute one determinant, while, on the other hand, individual natives themselves may have quite as important effects on the course of cultural change. Bateson says,⁴ for instance, that the men who deviate from the Iatmul ideal of correct male behavior are usually ex-laborers. As growing boys they found no fault with the prevailing cultural values and sanctions of their tribe; but now, having lived in the different environment of indentured labor settlements, they are impatient with the old taboos and treat time-honored ritual with contempt. Among the Kwoma we find that one sib leader, ultra-conservative in his attitude toward European contact, has induced his group to change their location to a spot which is more remote from chance visits of European officials. Conversely, another such leader in the same tribe seeks actively to profit from white contact.

Even more striking are the changes inaugurated by the government-appointed paramount chiefs. These individuals take an active part in introducing new methods of agriculture, new inter-tribal councils, and various other government-supported innovations to their people. Patrol and District Officers are constantly on the look-out for natural leaders who will serve effectively as village officials. Employers of native labor, similarly, watch for men of more than average ability in their labor lines; to the latter, when found, are entrusted tasks which demand either special skill or more than average responsibility. In the educational institutions of the missions and the Government, likewise, there is a certain selectivity in the choice of students.⁵

³ This is not to say that natives are incapable of conceiving of the super-personal aspects of such enterprises. The large mining companies and plantations are known by pidgin names, and boys may be heard to say *mi laik wok long Bulolo* ("I want to work at the Bulolo Gold Dredging Co."). Furthermore, the impersonal nature of the governmental administration is implicit in the fairly recent pidgin word, *govamin*; but the word *kiap*, meaning some specific government officer, is still in more common use.

⁴ G. Bateson, *Naven*, pp. 167-170.

⁵ Aside from the choice of village officials, selectivity has not been carried so far as might at first be imagined. The European officers in charge of the Native Constabulary, for example, prefer raw recruits, in general, to mission-trained natives or finish-time laborers.

The natives, for their part, are not slow in recognizing individual differences among the various Europeans with whom they have to deal. In the first place, they adapt their behavior to the occupational status of the white men whom they meet, distinguishing among missionaries, recruiters, government officers, and the rest. They accommodate their behavior to the greater accessibility of the missionary, for example, and observe the more rigid canons of military discipline in the presence of government officers. Recruiters, on the other hand, may even be ignored if no one in a village is desirous of going away to work.

Secondly, natives are quick to distinguish in Europeans those personality traits which they respect or admire, as well as those which they dislike or do not trust. On the Sepik River, where the native cultures set a high value on aggressive and truculent behavior, one government official, known by the natives to be in constant fear of attack, received little co-operation, either from his native police boys or from the villagers in his district. The other *kiap* on the river, known as a stern disciplinarian, was much more successful in his dealings with these people. They preferred to take their court cases to him, even though his post was several days' journey farther away from that of his less admired colleague. Corvees, moreover, were always more readily undertaken by the villagers in his district.

In the matter of recruiting, where the natives have virtual freedom of choice among several recruiters, one may clearly see the role of the individual European's personality in the culture-contact situation. On the Sepik River, the most important recruiting area in the Territory, the natives are more concerned with the question of who the particular European is who recruits them than with the type of work which it may be their lot to perform. Recruiters who have not gained the confidence of the natives, and those who are known to be dishonest in their deal-

Natives may thus learn their jobs as police boys without interference from other learned behavior patterns.

Similarly, the Bulolo Gold Dredging Company consciously rotates the boys working in its machine shops lest they acquire particular skill. This is a Territory-wide phenomenon which indicates that the Europeans are seeking to prevent the formation of occupational class stratification among the native population. They fear that this would result in demands for higher wages and in general discontent due to class struggles. Governmental reports contain no reference to this unformalized policy because, I think, of its anti-democratic nature. I am certain, however, that it exists. Natives may be chosen for particular tasks on the basis of their capabilities, but, in general, they are not selected and trained for the ulterior purpose of assisting the total population to rise above its present level of existence.

ings, may be forced to give up their profession through lack of success. The recruiter who appreciates the native viewpoint is trusted; consequently, he is a key man in the successful functioning of the indenture system. Such a man materially speeds the process of acculturation, breaking down the resistance of those natives who are against it by describing in an artful way all of the advantages of working for Europeans.⁶

In the Waskuk community of the Kwoma tribe, Dr. Whiting and I once had the experience of being classified by the natives with whom we worked. At first they were curious to know our status relations to one another. Which of us, they asked, was the elder, and hence worthy of the title *nambawan*?⁷ Later, as we came to be better known, they discovered that, although neither of us was *nambawan* in running our establishment, I was inclined to be less liberal than my colleague in granting first requests for pay in return for their produce and services. Consequently, I was dubbed a *hardfēla man*, and they arranged to do their trading with our camp while I was away.

Of personality differences among missionaries I can say little, for I had few contacts with strongly missionized natives. From what I could gather, however, the natives have their likes and dislikes among missionary fathers and brothers, as among other groups of Europeans. Some are regarded as too strict in what they expect the natives to learn in the way of dogma; others are thought to be especially exacting in matters of morality. A tolerant and understanding missionary may gain the universal respect and love of the natives. The late Father Kirschbaum of Marienberg, Sepik District, was an outstanding example, the late Bishop Couppe of Vunapope, Gazelle Peninsula, another. Kirschbaum's fame in the Sepik District spread far beyond the area of white contact, so that tribes who had never seen a European knew him by reputation. This obviously paved the way for friendly first contacts, and hastened the envelopment of new tribes in *kanaka* culture.

⁶ Of two professional recruiters on the Sepik River in 1936, the more successful "bought" a total of 664 boys during the course of the year, for each of whom he received a per capita payment of £7 to £10 on his investment of about £3; the other was able to secure only twenty-eight. Several factors must be taken into account in analyzing the discrepancy between these figures: the capabilities of their native helpers, the quality of the trade goods with which the boys are "bought," and the amount of energy put into the task by the respective recruiters. More important than these, however, is the acquired skill of inducing reluctant natives to sign on in some European enterprise. This is definitely an art, in which skill depends to no small degree on the ability and personality of the recruiter.

⁷ Melanesian pidgin for "number one." Note that the *laga-kumwe* (elder brother-younger brother) relationship is very important in this culture.

It might augur well for the future of New Guinea if the natives chose to associate or have dealings only with what might be regarded as the finer types of Europeans. Unfortunately, however, they often have no opportunity of making a choice; and, furthermore, even the harshest and most unprincipled Europeans seem to have little difficulty in securing workers. The late L. Schmidt, convicted and hanged in 1936 for wilful and indiscriminate murder of natives, never lacked a "line" of boys.⁸ In general, however, it may be said that the New Guinea natives are capable of differentiating between well-disposed and unprincipled whites, and that whenever selection is possible they choose to follow the former.

As they come into closer contact with larger numbers of Europeans, the importance of personality differences tends to level off; the several codes of behavior by which they have adapted themselves to different types of whites are fused; and they acquire a series of flexible adjustments forming an integrated whole which enables them to react in an acceptable and uniform manner in any given contact situation.

THE AGENCIES OF CHANGE: INDENTURED LABOR

Thurnwald,⁹ in his study of acculturation in Tanganyika, makes the statement: "European contact does not create the same conditions everywhere. Consequently we must distinguish the phenomena of contact and adaptation not only according to tribal conditions, but also in relation to the particular circumstances created by Europeans on a certain spot." This qualification holds as true for New Guinea as for East Africa; here, too, the particular circumstances vary considerably in the respective areas.

We have already seen¹⁰ how colonial government, no less than other European institutions, has created a new set of life conditions to which the natives have been forced to adapt themselves. Moreover, the complexity of its regulative measures has become greatest among those native peoples in closest contact with Europeans. Natives living under aboriginal conditions—still the majority in the New Guinea population—receive fewer visits from government officers. Those living beyond the

⁸ See Rabaul *Times*, No. 567, February 21, 1936. This is the only case of execution of a white in New Guinea.

⁹ R. Thurnwald, *Black and White in East Africa*, p. 72.

¹⁰ Chapters IV and V, above.

borders of the controlled areas have only to cope with the simple system of base camps.

Since prospectors, recruiters, missionaries, and traders follow so closely on the heels of the government officials, it is difficult to say whether they or the Government, as represented by the agents of native administration, constitute the more influential agency of social change in New Guinea today. Yet when we realize the measure of control which the Government is legally empowered to use in regulating contact between natives and all foreigners, it appears that the formal administration is the greatest single force which now impinges on the native cultures. If we place government foremost among the basic agencies creating the fabric of a new culture, the employment of native labor by Europeans certainly ranks a close second. Here again, however, if we would understand fully the nature of this compound institution and recognize clearly the "particular circumstances" surrounding different types of employment, we must see the problem in its entirety from several points of view.

On June 30, 1938, of a total enumerated native population of 581,342, there were 41,849 *kanakas* working for Europeans under indenture. This is the largest number ever employed in New Guinea, twice as great as the number serving the Germans in 1914. More remarkable than the size of this labor force (eleven natives for each European, or seven natives for each non-indigenous inhabitant) is its all but complete maleness. Only 350 of the 41,849 were women. With the exception of forty-seven unmarried women, they were all wives of employed husbands who had also signed contracts. Twenty-five years later, only 1,085 wives were with their husbands in their places of work, although Government and employers encourage the men to bring their wives along when they sign on.¹¹ Here is a peculiar situation. Native employment is unquestionably a major agency of culture contact and social change, and yet it concerns directly only the male sex of the native population. We shall turn later to the effects of this condition on tribal life; we are here concerned with analysis of the agency itself.

In Kieta and Madang districts over three-quarters of the employed natives are recruited locally, but in Manus, Morobe, New Britain, New Ireland, and Sepik districts only one-half, approximately, are inhabitants of the administrative district wherein they are employed. The rest are

¹¹ *Report to the Council of the League of Nations* (1939), pp. 39-41, and Appendix A: "Native Population."

gathered from all parts of the Territory. It should be noted, however, that even though a native is employed in the same district as that of his village, conditions of travel are so difficult that few have any opportunity to visit their homes until the period of contract has expired. Only two and one-half percent desert during any year.¹²

If the total number of indentured laborers is analyzed on the basis of occupational pursuits, the following distribution results.

<i>Type of employment</i>	<i>Number engaged</i>
Plantation	20,855
Mining	7,189
Shipping, Commerce, Industry	7,511
Domestic Service	4,477
Administration Service	1,747 ¹³
Miscellaneous	70
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Total	41,849

Before treating of the acculturational effects of native employment, it will be necessary to describe briefly the different types of employment and modes of life of these occupational groups. One characteristic is common to all the employed: the great bulk of the labor they perform is unskilled. Aside from this, special features distinguish plantation labor from mining, from domestic service, and so on.

(a) *Plantation Labor*. "Plantation," in New Guinea terminology, almost always means coconut plantation, since 231,922 of the 239,370 acres under cultivation are in coconuts. Over 70 percent of this area is situated in the islands of the Bismarck Archipelago, eloquent testimony to the unrequited labors of German colonists before the War. The Gazelle Peninsula and New Ireland together contain four-fifths of these plantations. The Germans learned by bitter experience that the mainland coast, except for parts of the Madang District and occasional other spots, was quite unsuited to profitable coconut cultivation.¹⁴

Although New Guinea plantations vary in size, and correspondingly

¹² "Desertion" means absence from place of employment without permission or reasonable cause for a period exceeding four days.

¹³ Exclusive of 883 native members of the police force.

¹⁴ *Official Handbook of the Territory of New Guinea*, p. 174.

in the number of their indentured workers, the mode and tempo of life on them are everywhere the same. Coconuts are not a seasonal crop, for the trees bear the year round; hence the regular routine is punctuated only by Sundays, holidays, and the periodic visits of government patrols or of vessels to take away the stores of copra.

Plantations are managed by Europeans, possibly half of whom are accompanied by their wives. Only the larger plantations have more than one white man in residence. Thus, unless a plantation is situated in proximity to a European town or government station, the single white manager has fairly extensive powers of control over his native workers for long periods of the year between visits of government officers.

There are minor variations in the methods of organization of the work on plantations, but in general they conform to a single broad pattern. Plantation routine commences at dawn, when a bell calls the sleepy labor line from its common house or individual huts. The boys assemble before the white manager for a cursory health inspection before allocation of the day's work. If any are sick or have bad sores which need treatment, they may be excused from work. Intelligent managers do not demand that their lines work on rainy days, for this invites sickness which interferes with production.

The day's work is detailed not to the whole line, but to certain boss boys. The average plantation has four boss boys to carry out the instructions of the white manager: (a) boss boy number one, a general overseer; (b) boss boy copra, in charge of the drying furnace and its operation; (c) boats captain; and (d) doctor boy. The bulk of the workers take their orders from these four ranking employees.¹⁵ Where the "task system" is employed, the line is divided into groups which are detailed, respectively, to clear new ground, to keep down weeds and *kunai* grass between mature trees, to collect and destroy insect pests (such as the rhinoceros beetle) which affect the trees, to gather ripe nuts which have fallen to the ground, and to cut the *drais*¹⁶ and place them in the drier.

¹⁵ In a serious article entitled "How to Succeed as a Coconut Planter in New Guinea," which appeared in the *Rabaul Times* (No. 71, August 27, 1926), Arnold Boardman counsels, "Never talk to your boys themselves, under any circumstances; always do it through the boss boys . . . Apart from your house boy and boss boys never allow any native in your employ to approach you, either in the field or on the bungalow verandah."

This is an ideal pattern of behavior for a goodly percentage of the planters whom I met. Those who do not believe it to be the best adjustment form a silent minority.

¹⁶ Melanesian pidgin for ripe coconuts. Green nuts, from which the milk is drunk, are *kulau*. Fallen coconuts which have sprouted are known as *kurus*.

In the "field system" of native employment, gangs of workers are assigned to certain plots or sections of the plantation where they perform all of the various jobs: cutting the grass, burning fallen fronds, catching beetles,¹⁷ and collecting the nuts.

In consonance with native custom, the workers are given no regular breakfast, although some food may be taken to them on the plantation grounds during the morning. At about 11 o'clock *bělo kai kai*¹⁸ is sounded for lunch, after which there is a rest period until 1 o'clock. Then, from *bělo běk* on, the boys continue at their tasks until *bělo finis*, at sunset. Then comes the big meal of the day. It is prepared in a communal cook-house on some plantations; on others, small groups of boys who come from the same tribe and speak the same language are allowed to cook their own food separately.

The copra-driers must be tended twenty-four hours a day. Consequently, the "boss-boy-copra" must be a responsible lad and see to it that the fires are fed properly by shifts of natives.

In the evenings (until the 9 o'clock curfew), the boys may visit about, smoke, chew betel, gossip, and sing. Darkness prevents their playing football, a common pastime on holidays, but they can gather around little hurricane lamps in their quarters and gamble for their tobacco rations in native games of chance ordinarily played with incredibly dirty European cards.

Few indentured laborers have any normal outlet for their sexual feelings. Some plantations are situated close to native villages, and in such cases the boys may resort to surreptitious prostitutes. Ordinarily, however, homosexual practices are the easiest adjustment; all Europeans agree that they are very common and are increasing. The natives have a growing awareness of the extreme revulsion with which Europeans view such behavior, and they know of the harsh prison sentences that are frequently imposed for it. In the aboriginal cultures, however, there existed no such severe sanctions on this form of conduct, and thus the native will try to get away with it when he can. Enlightened Europeans, in private life as well as in governmental service, realize that this is a problem of the white man's own making. The only sanctioned

¹⁷ This task, being the lightest, is usually assigned to *monkis*, or very young lads who have scarcely reached puberty. They are called *monki bilong binatang* ("insect collectors").

¹⁸ Melanesian pidgin for this particular dinner call, whether it be a whistle, gong, horn, or bell.

"solution" offered to the natives so far is the sublimation preached by the missionary. It simply does not work.

Although scientific methods of cultivating coconuts and processing the fruit to produce copra have gone far toward stabilizing this major industry, labor still presents the planter with his most difficult problems. It is a commonly expressed opinion that indentured workers today produce less per man than they did a decade ago. One planter with fourteen years' experience in the Territory maintains that native workers in the outstations are being told by natives on the inter-island boats from Rabaul that they need not work so hard. "Subversive propaganda," he believes, is thus being spread by the more sophisticated natives who are in closer contact with Europeans. Here we have an instance of the operation of one of the principal stimuli to change in the present situation. Natives who are in close proximity to European towns and stations are resorting to European courts to settle their disputes more and more frequently, and are often haled before these courts to answer for their own conduct. Thus they acquire a much more exact knowledge of their legal rights than do natives on isolated plantations who may see administration officials no more often than once a year. Not only is the protection offered the working native by governmental law very extensive, but it also is being administered much more strictly now than ever before. Ten years ago, a planter could flog a recalcitrant native with little danger that the latter might lodge a complaint with the District Officer; nowadays the white man has to be extremely careful in this matter. It is no longer worth the risk.

As in all European enterprise in New Guinea, the labor turnover on most plantations is still very heavy. One three-year contract and a second one for two years are ordinarily deemed sufficient by the majority of indentured laborers. There are signs today, however, of a trend toward steady employment. Kalili Plantation, on Karkar Island off the Madang coast, for example, counts among its workers a growing number who have "made paper"¹⁹ three and even four times. A real *esprit de corps* has grown up in this particular line, and the workers would not think of signing on with any other plantation. In plantations around Kavieng, Northern New Ireland, there is also a noticeable regularity of employment. In both these cases, and in many others that might be mentioned, the natives who re-sign are inhabitants of nearby villages. On

¹⁹ The Melanesian pidgin expression for signing a labor contract is *mekim pepa*.

the little island of Karkar, for example, virtually all of the workers are recruited from among the island's 8,000 native inhabitants. The workers thus have frequent opportunities to visit their wives and families, and can lead a far more satisfying and normal life in close contact with their own people than can natives who are employed on plantations hundreds of miles from their home villages. There is good reason, obviously, for the Government's desire (so far unsuccessful) to have wives accompany their indentured husbands.

(b) *Mining Labor*. Referring again to the table above,²⁰ we see that 7,189 natives are now engaged as mining laborers. Owing to the location of the known mineral deposits in the Territory, this means that all but a few hundred²¹ of this number are employed in the mountainous district between Wau and the Upper Ramu River, in the Morobe District. Within this occupational (and also geographical) frame of reference, conditions of employment vary widely. We find, at one extreme, individual miners with lines containing ten to fifteen boys, and, at the other, organizations like New Guinea Goldfields Co., Ltd., which employed a labor force of almost 2,000 workers in 1936.

A basic difference between plantation work and the extractive economy of mining enterprise lies in the fact that silviculture was a common occupation in the pre-European societies, while mining, except for isolated cases of crude quarrying, was totally foreign to the aboriginal cultures. Nevertheless, as a temporary pursuit, mining employment is, to the natives, quite as acceptable a method of acquiring wealth in wages as plantation work.

The discovery of gold in paying quantities in 1926 created a great demand for native labor. The price of recruits, which had hovered around £5 per man, suddenly shot up to £20 and £25; even at these figures labor was not always obtainable.²² Recruiting became extremely profitable,²³ and recruiters had to go farther and farther into the hinterland to find villages which contained young men who were willing to sign on. In this way the normal course of contact and acculturation was

²⁰ Page 218.

²¹ A few hundred are engaged on the new alluvial field in the Toricelli Mountains, Sepik District. Some prospecting is also being carried on in New Britain and Bougainville Island.

²² Rabaul Times, No. 80, October 29, 1926.

²³ The cost of "buying," outfitting, feeding, and delivering a recruit from the Sepik District, for example, averaged about £3.10.0 in 1937. The figure is approximate; recruiters are poor bookkeepers.

greatly accelerated. Planting interests could never have expanded so rapidly as to absorb the large numbers required in this new activity. By the end of 1926, 2,000 laborers were already employed in the new field.²⁴

When I visited the Morobe District, and it became known that I had just come from the Sepik, the questions put to me by officials and labor overseers everywhere hinged on native attitudes toward mining employment. What do Sepik boys think about "Morobe"? What opinions do they have of "Kaindi"?²⁵ of "Bulolo"?²⁶ of other companies in the District? These questions are pertinent both as regards native welfare and the successful operation of the mining companies. Government officials are keen to know whether the natives consider that they are receiving good treatment; employers are desirous of having the best reputation in order that recruits may be easily secured. I was able to inform my questioners that, while I had heard few good words for "Kaindi," there was universal agreement among the Sepik natives that "Bulolo" was a fine place to work.

Several factors may account for this contrast in native attitudes toward these two biggest employers of native labor in the goldfields. In the first place, although the diggings of the two companies lie only a few miles apart, climatic conditions are widely variant. Kaindi, 7,000 feet above sea-level, is very cold and is usually cloaked in chilling mists, while Bulolo lies in a rich and sunny valley at only 3,000 feet elevation. Secondly, chest complaints and (until recently) insufficient medical care have taken a very heavy toll among the natives working at Kaindi. To the native way of thinking, this is sufficient proof that some baleful supernatural forces are resident on Kaindi Mountain. Bulolo, on the other hand, has always been a very healthy spot.²⁷ Moreover, it has what is easily the best equipped native hospital in the Territory, not excluding those of the Government. Finally, much of the work at Kaindi is carried on in dank and cheerless underground caverns; all of Bulolo's mining activities are carried on above the surface.

The society of the mining laborers is, of course, preponderantly male.

²⁴ Rabaul *Times*, *ibid.*

²⁵ New Guinea Goldfields Co., Ltd., whose principal operations are situated on Kaindi Mountain.

²⁶ Bulolo Gold Dredging Co., Ltd., in the Bulolo River Valley.

²⁷ Morbidity rates in 1935; New Guinea Goldfields Co., Ltd., 4.3 per cent; Bulolo Gold Dredging Co., Ltd., 1.8 per cent. The expanded health program and improved medical care of New Guinea Goldfields has recently led to a marked lowering of their morbidity rate.

Of the 1,060 natives employed by the Kaindi firm in March, 1937, only five were accompanied by their wives. At Bulolo the ratio was somewhat higher: thirty out of a total of 1,231 workers. There is little work for the women to do, but the companies agree with the Government that the presence of women is desirable, and instruct their recruiters to do everything possible to promote the bringing of wives. Despite the pressure exerted on the natives in this matter, they refuse, with few exceptions, to risk placing their wives among hundreds of other natives. Furthermore, it is becoming increasingly customary for boys to work before marriage. After they have worked for a period they can return to their native villages and pay the bride price with ease.

In the large companies, only a small part of the native labor works directly in mining. Bulolo, for instance, has only ninety-one employees engaged in mining and carrying; the rest are general laborers. Nevertheless, this harder work is very popular, since it brings a wage of ten shillings a month instead of the usual six. The deep mines of the Kaindi company require a higher percentage to be employed in heavy tasks; on the "small shows" of individual European miners, all of the labor is of this sort.

Mining labor is allocated according to the task system, as is the case on many plantations. In the large companies, the indentured laborers are grouped in lines of thirty to forty boys, all performing the same type of work. Each line is directed by a European overseer, and spends all of its time at some assigned job. There is always bush to be cleared, grass to be cut, aerial freight to be unloaded, and roads to be repaired by the several gangs. There are also many general tasks: for strikers on trucks and tractors, helpers in the machine shops, waiters in the European mess-hall, and the like, down to such a specialized job as that of one native at Bulolo, keeping wood ready for a fire on the aerodrome to indicate the wind's direction for incoming aeroplanes.

The two large companies have adopted quite different methods of housing and feeding native employees. The Kaindi concern has built large barracks, which resemble Connecticut's tobacco-drying sheds, to house their workers. These were originally equipped with wide shutters under the eaves to permit proper ventilation, but the boys objected. They said that they preferred the heat and smoke of their many fires to the cold mountain air. The interior arrangement in these barracks consists simply of a double tier of large bunks running down each side of the building.

Meals at Kaindi are served from a large communal kitchen. The Kaindi method of caring for its native labor may be called the compound system. It resembles, though on a much smaller scale, the systems of housing used by mining concerns on the Rand in South Africa.

Bulolo, on the other hand, has turned away from what it regards as an outmoded system, and is building large numbers of small huts holding two to four workers each. The employers of natives in this company are convinced that the natives prefer this type of living arrangement, and that they are happier in it. Furthermore, instead of a communal mess, rations are issued individually, once a week, and the boys are free to do their own cooking in little groups of their own choosing. As with housing, this, also, conforms more closely to the mode of life practiced in the villages from which the workers came, and is thus considered more acceptable to them.

One of the inexplicable phenomena of these societies of native laborers is the traditional rivalry which has existed for years between boys from villages on the Sepik and Markham Rivers. This can also be noted among plantation lines which include boys from these two areas, but the hostility has been particularly strong in mining camps. Bloody brawls and even homicides have marked the feud in the Morobe District. Why and how this situation arose will probably never be known. There certainly were no contacts between these groups in pre-European times. In any case, employers have had to adjust to this traditional feud by putting workers from these districts in separate lines, and by housing them at a considerable distance from one another. According to the Native Labour Superintendent at Bulolo, this traditional dispute is slowly dying out in Morobe District. He is not at all sure, however, that it will not flare up again over some petty detail or personal grudge.

Despite this undercurrent of unrest, as yet no serious problem of regulation among the native laborers has arisen. Flagrant breaches of discipline are dealt with immediately, the offender being taken at once before a government official, but minor misdemeanors are handled by the European overseer on the spot. Company officials do not find fault with the clauses in the *Native Labour Ordinance* which prohibit corporal punishment, but they do condone an overseer's striking a boy if he thinks the latter needs it. The very efficiency with which the companies are run seems to put its mark on the natives, and overseers say that seldom is there need of chastising a worker.

The mining companies show their most intelligent interest in native welfare in the recreational facilities which they provide for their indentured workers. Not only are football and cricket teams provided with fields and uniforms, boys are also given plots of ground where they may plant gardens of their own. The soil in Morobe's mountainous districts is more fertile than that of almost any other part of the Territory, and the boys take great delight in this "postman's holiday" sort of recreation. It is recreation, for there is no need for them to raise food, since they are given the full rations to which they are entitled by law.

Save for an occasional mammoth *singsing* permitted and sponsored by the companies in celebration of a holiday, week-end visiting is the main social event. On Saturday afternoons the roads in the vicinity of Wau are dotted with groups of native workers, dressed in such motley as only the semi-civilized can affect, on their way to other camps where friends and *wantóks*²⁸ may be found. They frequently walk for miles to visit relatives and friends in other lines and to gossip, sing, reminisce, and lay plans for the future.²⁹

Mine work has certain clear advantages over other types of native occupation in New Guinea. This is not to say that the natives invariably prefer mining to other pursuits. They do, however, recognize its good points.

In the first place, the mining community is more of a unit than are the scattered plantations. Thus the native in Morobe comes into contact with larger numbers of both Europeans and natives from other parts of the Territory. Plantation life is provincial, each individual plantation having its own stereotyped patterns of behavior. Life in the mining area is more cosmopolitan, both because of the larger numbers in contact and because of its more rapid tempo.³⁰

A second direct advantage accruing to the mine laborer, especially one employed by a large company, is in health. Although all employers of

²⁸ Melanesian pidgin term for individuals who speak the same language, i.e., fellow tribesmen; or fellow villagers.

²⁹ The most recent development in the native arts of pleasure is for groups of finish-time boys to hire an aeroplane—with a goodly portion of their three years' salary—in order to have a pleasure trip over the scene of their labors. Further proof, say Europeans, that the *kanaka* should not be given much money in wages lest he "waste" it on luxuries alone.

³⁰ This is equally true from the European viewpoint. There is an aura of adventure and recklessness over all the affairs in the gold district. Variety and excitement are conspicuously absent in, say, the plantation region around Kavieng.

native labor, whether on plantations, in mines, or in domestic service, are responsible for the health of their employees, nevertheless, it is no exaggeration to say that no large group of people in New Guinea, regardless of race, are so closely watched and so ably cared for as the employees of the large companies. This is, in large part, a shrewd economy, for native labor, even at two shillings per day fully found, can cut into profits if it is incapacitated. The result of all this health supervision is that when the indentures expire natives return to their villages in excellent physical condition. Health charts kept by the Bulolo firm prove this beyond a doubt, and the natives themselves are well aware of the fact. Good food regularly taken, steady application to manual toil, and immediate treatment of sores, skin disease, and other complaints are literally re-making a not inconsiderable proportion of the youthful male population.

(c) *Commercial Enterprise.* Approximately 9,000 natives are employed today at tasks which we may call commercial. This is a general category covering employment in shipping, commerce, and industry, and administrative service, as listed in the table on page 218, above. These workers form a kaleidoscopic laboring class made up of boats' crew boys, porters, stevedores, loggers, truck drivers and strikers, messengers, and gardeners. Obviously, there is no such uniformity of occupational pursuit among these laborers as obtains in the labor lines either on plantations or in the goldfields. Nor are the types of work to which commercial workers are assigned peculiar to any one district of the Territory; they are represented, in greater or less degree, wherever European settlements and government stations are found. Indeed, boats' crew boys and stevedores who work the inter-island vessels in territorial waters are constantly on the move, being attached only to the vessels on which they are employed.

As is the case in mining, the work gangs of laborers in commercial enterprises vary considerably in size. A free-lance European carpenter at Wau, for instance, employs a small labor force consisting of only six native helpers. Large mercantile and shipping firms, on the other hand, frequently have labor lines of 200 to 400 workers in the larger New Guinea towns. As for the Administration's labor force, we find that each government station, each district office, in fact, each administrative undertaking, has need for indentured workers—over and above convict labor—to assist it in the discharge of routine functions. The number

required at any government post varies directly with the size of the post and also with its importance in the European economy. Thus, while Ambunti, a small police post on the Upper Sepik River, needed only ten or a dozen carriers, cooks, and handy men, the capital, Rabaul, requires the constant services of over 700 native workers employed in a wide variety of menial tasks.³¹

In the various types of commercial labor lines, work is allocated through the medium of boss boys. European employers and labor overseers may select natural leaders—if such can be spotted; or they may choose workers who have served several periods under contract and thus can be expected to be thoroughly conversant with what is required of a line.

A common complaint of European employers of native labor is that they experience considerable difficulty in discovering laborers who are willing to serve as boss boys. In applying European competitive standards to this situation, the whites fail to reckon with the native's point of view. What the white man sees is the fact that boss boys not only occupy a moderately superior social position, but that they also receive almost double the salary of ordinary workers and frequently are given individual houses of their own set apart from the usual labor barracks. To the native, however, the job appears in a different light. In the first place, he generally shares in the universal human trait of seeking to avoid responsibility. But, quite apart from this factor, there seems to be a specific cultural determinant, characteristic of New Guinea, which makes the native desire to remain an undifferentiated member of his group. With certain exceptions, native New Guinea societies of aboriginal times were preponderantly equalitarian; and the indentured native has carried over this trait almost intact into the society of the indentured workers.³² Europeans eventually find natives who are willing to be boss boys, but the search sometimes lasts a long time. It is perhaps significant that

³¹ This was true of Rabaul prior to the volcanic eruption of May, 1937, in Blanche Bay, which led to the Government's pronouncing the region unsafe. The decision was later made to move the capital to Lae on the northeast coast of New Guinea island.

³² On several occasions I experimented with small groups of natives who had worked for me. I would pay them in a lump sum (tobacco, pipes, scent, matches) and tell one of their number to divide the goods equally. This method simply would not work. The boys would make no move to parcel out the articles, but would come to me and demand that I do it. After I had patiently made up a number of equal piles, they would take them, and then proceed to exchange the articles among themselves.

the Number One Boss Boy of Burns, Philp and Co.'s largest labor line (in Rabaul) is a native "half-caste."³³

Differing in size and in details of employment, commercial labor lines are placed in situations where the contacts they may have with other groups of workers and with Europeans vary considerably. In the large centers of employment (Rabaul, Kavieng, Kieta, Madang, and Salamaua), representatives of scores of different tribes work in close proximity. Here, as a rule, their direct contacts with Europeans are less frequent than in smaller places. They are witnesses of more European community life, but their position is that of onlookers only. Smaller lines, such as are found in the outstations, are able to establish more personal contacts with their white employers. These isolated labor groups lose much of the excitement and bustle of the big compounds, but they gain a more intimate knowledge of individual Europeans, and the latter lose their aura of mystery.

Generalizations regarding the special boons which commercial indenture may bestow upon native workers are particularly difficult because of the wide variety of conditions under which these groups are employed. It is my impression, however, that more semi-skilled workers are being developed in the rank and file of commercial and industrial workers than in the other occupational categories discussed thus far. For example, the 1100-odd³⁴ passenger cars and trucks in the Territory are now being competently handled by native drivers. Woodworkers, shipwright's helpers, printer's devils, and other semi-skilled classes of native workers are being trained out of necessity. Since many of the most essential tasks, in the modern machine economy of the European community, require a modicum of special skill, increasing numbers of employees must receive some form of apprentice training regardless of the effects this may have on the structure of native society. Actually, European opposition to such specialization is based not so much on concern for its possibly deleterious effects on the aboriginal culture as on the possibility

³³ The son of a Gilbert Island (Micronesian) father and a New Ireland (Melanesian) mother.

In Melanesian pidgin the term *hap kas* has the common meaning in English, as well as a different, specific significance of its own. The offspring of a marriage between persons of two different villages, even though they may be of the same tribe, is frequently called a *hap kas*. On the Sepik River, I heard a man called by this term whose father and mother came from two Iatmul villages less than six miles apart.

³⁴ The total number of motor vehicles *owned* by natives in 1937 was one. This was an old Chevrolet sedan belonging to a paramount chief of Matupi, on Blanche Bay, who rented it as a taxi when not using it himself.

that natives may thus become competitors of skilled European workers.

In addition to the 9,000 or more commercial workers serving under indenture, the body of unskilled *casual* labor in the larger towns is constantly growing. This increasingly important group is drawn from native villages within easy walking distance of the several European townships, and is made up of the more sophisticated natives (in monetary matters at least) of the Territory. They sell their labor at a daily or weekly rate both to large firms and to individual employers. This is certainly an enlightened adjustment on the native's part; for, whereas indentured workers receive wages in currency and goods amounting to less than 6 pence per day (\$.10), the casual laborer receives 1 shilling (\$.20) per day as a flat rate.³⁵ Hence in three days' time the casual laborer can acquire as much in wages as the indentured worker can make in a full week, and at the same time he retains his freedom.³⁶

(d) *Domestic Service*. The last occupational group remaining to be considered is that of domestic servants. The figures quoted above show that 4,477 natives, roughly 10 percent of those gainfully employed, are engaged in this very special type of occupation: household and personal service.

It is probably incorrect to speak of domestic servants as forming an occupational group or class, as if they had a common identity. In a strict sense, no class of house servants has as yet appeared which could be compared with the class of Negro domestics which arose in the Southern States of America during slavery. Nevertheless, in the very close relationships which exist between house boys and their white masters there lies the seed of such a development. Personal servants are boss boys of a special sort, commonly acting as intermediaries between the master and

³⁵ The average cost to European employers of native labor throughout the Territory is less than 2 shillings per day per employee.

³⁶ In May, 1937, the casual laborers near Rabaul decided not to work unless their pay was doubled (to two shillings per day). In effect they went on strike. This exercised the European employers in the district; and they were further disconcerted to find that they had no legal right either to make casual laborers work or to fix a maximum wage rate for them. A forceful off-the-record speech by a high government official before the striking natives temporarily solved the problem.

The managing director of the Bulolo Gold Dredging Co., Ltd., told me that he was momentarily expecting wage complaints among the 1200-odd natives employed by his concern. A recent ordinance under the *Native Labour Regulations* had stipulated that overtime work on Sundays and holidays was to be paid for at the rate of two shillings per day. His workers, he expected, would become aware of the wide discrepancy between their ordinary pay (six and ten shillings per month in currency) and the much higher pay for overtime work.

the native groups with which he has to deal. They, of all indentured workers, are most intimately concerned with the welfare of their employers, and, by extension, with that of the whole European community. They come nearer to "thinking white" than do the members of any other body of natives, whether in indentured service, in the missions, or in tribal villages. All of these factors put a certain stamp on domestic service, setting it apart from the ordinary forms of indenture.

It is my impression, however, that domestic service holds no markedly greater appeal for natives than other forms of employment. House boys do receive better food, in the form of leavings from their masters' table; also, a certain amount of petty pilfering from the larder is traditionally condoned. Among natives who are so constantly interested in the matter of food, these considerations are of no small importance. Servants are also allowed to use firearms for pot-hunting, and all natives regard their use as great sport. To balance these advantages there are adverse aspects of this type of work. Servants are often required to work very long hours, and the many details of household management are certainly burdensome. In their more intimate relationships with Europeans, moreover, there is always a danger of giving offense and thus meriting punishment. Again, among household workers, higher standards of personal cleanliness are required than among other classes of workers. This, it must be said in fairness, is not always distasteful to the house boy, but it underlines the point that Europeans impose stricter codes of behavior on personal servants than on other employees.

Domestic servants acquire more insight into the lives of Europeans than many of the latter care to admit. As participants in a menial capacity in most of the social activities of Europeans, they come to have a much more extensive knowledge of white forms of behavior than Europeans ever do of theirs. The picture of a group of boys waiting outside a house in which Europeans are staging a drinking bout is not at all unusual. When the masters are *longlong finis*,³⁷ the faithful watchers bundle them off to bed.

Real attachments often spring up between masters and servants. Explorers, government officials, and especially prospectors, whose pioneering work frequently carries them into regions of considerable danger, are sincere in their praises of the devotion and courage of many of their

³⁷ The general meaning of the Melanesian pidgin *longlong* is "crazy." Here it means "dead drunk."

personal servants. It seems quite probable that fully as many European lives have been saved by loyal servants in New Guinea as have been taken by hostile tribes. Despite all this, domestic servants display only a slightly greater tendency to remain in this service than do the other classes of indentured workers. Moreover, they rarely stay for a very long time with the same *masta* or *mīssus*.

Domestic service definitely endows natives with more prestige among their fellow workers than any other pursuit under contract. The police boy has the only calling that can rival it for kudos. The distinctions natives draw between working in the white man's home and in his fields escape the casual observer. But if one watches carefully, he can see that personal servants tend to gather in little cliques of their own when their masters meet. Personal jealousies may cause discord in such a group, but in general its members have more in common with one another than with other classes of workers. Furthermore, while I noted several cases of former personal servants anxiously trying to become police boys, and also met ex-police boys working in European homes, I know of no instances where representatives of either profession have "descended" to plantation, mining, or commercial labor.³⁸

This, in outline, is the picture of life among indentured laborers in New Guinea today. It is a polyglot, work-boy society composed of young men from all but the most remote native tribes. Its only common language is Melanesian pidgin, and it is set off from the European society by the unscalable barrier of caste. Indentured workers have no voice whatsoever in the organization or framing of administrative policy as it affects them.

This unorganized, amorphous society, consisting almost entirely of unskilled workers, is, by all indications, a permanent phenomenon in New Guinea life. The personnel of the group may change from year to year as older workers return to their villages and new recruits are drafted, but the society lives on. It may happen, of course, that fluctuations in the price of gold and copra on world markets will entail such far-reaching retrenchment among European concerns as to reduce the native labor force to a fraction of its present size and thus cause retrogression of the

³⁸ There is a tendency today among European residents of the Territory to obtain *monkis* (boys aged ten to fourteen years) for household work. These lads pick up most of the required knowledge—cooking, baking, making beds, laundering, and caring for young white children—from older native employees. When the latter decide to leave white employment and return to their old village life, the young apprentices assume their duties.

new *kanaka* society. The present goldfields, moreover, are not inexhaustible; in fifteen or twenty years there may be no Kaindi or Bulolo to require thousands of workers. On the other hand, it is an uncontested fact that the agricultural wealth of the country, especially on the mainland, has scarcely been tapped. New products such as coffee, cocoa, tea, sugar, rice, and rubber may very well be developed to challenge the present absolute supremacy of copra. Any advance along these lines must depend entirely on native labor, so long as Asiatic labor is excluded. Whether or not natives can be taught the more painstaking methods of agriculture demanded in the cultivation of these crops is a question in the minds of many European planters. The future will decide, but in the evolution of native labor in New Guinea, from the days of Farrell's first plantation to the present, we can see an advance, not only in the total number gainfully employed, but also in the capabilities and special skills that have slowly been developed in the face of European opposition.

One of the most recent developments in the system of native labor, and one fraught with significance for the future of the *kanaka*, has been the first vague stirring of group consciousness. The most remarkable manifestation of this embryonic trend was an event which took place in Rabaul in January, 1929.³⁹ On the morning of the 3rd of that month, European residents were astounded to wake and find not a single laborer in the town; more than 3,000 workers had deserted in a body to a mission station a few miles away. It later came out that a spokesman for workers of the Melanesia Co., Ltd., of Rabaul, had requested that their wages be raised to £1 per month. This had appeared so fantastic to the officers of the company that they straightway had denied it, and then had forgotten all about the incident. The "strike" which followed came as an enormous shock to the entire European community. The whole thing had been planned and carried out so efficiently that no inkling of it had reached white ears. This was the most disconcerting fact of all, showing the Europeans how little they knew of the forces behind native behavior and how easily the whole structure of the compound society might be imperiled. Having no food, the strikers soon capitulated to the Government's demand that they return to work. The ringleaders were held,⁴⁰

³⁹ Rabaul *Times*, No. 194, January 4, 1929, and following.

⁴⁰ A board of inquiry established the fact that a native named Sumasuma, boat's captain for the Melanesia Co. and a man of outstanding ability, had been one of the principal organizers. Hé was assisted by one Rami, a sergeant major of the native police force. It was generally believed in the European community that the idea of a strike was suggested by a Negro seaman from an American freighter.

while the rank and file were disciplined by their own employers as sanctions on corporal punishment were temporarily suspended. The Rabaul *Times*⁴¹ said editorially: "If General Wisdom [the Administrator] attempts to prosecute residents who thrashed their deserters, he may find that he will have to prosecute them in batches of a hundred at a time."

The lesson in this case, brought home so forcibly to Europeans, was the fact that natives from many different tribes, employed in a number of distinct enterprises, could forget tribal animosities and unite for a common purpose. Here was something distinctly new in native potentialities. It may well prove to be the forerunner of a nationalist movement analogous to that which is now exciting articulate East Africans; their fathers and grandfathers stood in the same relation to Europeans as do New Guinea natives today.⁴²

THE AGENCIES OF CHANGE: MISSIONS

It has been said that when you educate a man you educate an individual, but when you educate a woman you educate a family. This observation, made in Africa, applies with equal force wherever a culturally superior group attempts to remold the form and content of what a subordinate group learns. New Guinea males are being educated, in the widest sense of that word, by the system of indentured labor. The missions, on the other hand, direct their programs of education toward societies as wholes, working through both sexes; their system, therefore, has broader implications for the ultimate outcome of culture contact, even though its immediate effects may seem less striking. Another important distinction between the missions and indentured labor as agencies of change is that the former have gone to the natives and dealt with them in their own villages. European enterprises, on the contrary, have always taken the natives out of the tribal environment and placed them in new and strange surroundings.

From the courageous beginnings of missionary work made by the Reverend George Brown in 1875 to the present time, when nearly 700

⁴¹ No. 195, January 11, 1929.

⁴² One immediate result of this first manifestation of caste-consciousness was the formation of the "Citizens Association," a non-official body of European residents in the Territory who were dissatisfied with what they regarded as a pro-native bias on the part of the Administration. This association is the sounding board of the non-official European population, which has no direct voice in the government of the Territory.

Europeans are engaged directly and indirectly in the work of education and conversion, mission enterprise in New Guinea has constantly enlarged its field of operation. Baptisms of new converts are now taking place at the rate of 20,000 per year, and the number of "attendants" has increased from approximately 500 frequenters of the Methodist mission schools in 1880 to the prodigious total of 307,492 claimed by the eleven missionary societies now engaged in work in the Territory.⁴³ The following table ⁴⁴ lists and locates the various mission enterprises, and indicates the size of their respective white staffs.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Denomination</i>	<i>Staff</i>	<i>Location</i>
Most Sacred Heart of Jesus	Roman Catholic	195	New Britain, New Ireland, Manus
Mission of the Holy Ghost	Roman Catholic	223	Madang, Sepik, New Britain
Marist Mission Society	Roman Catholic	62	Kieta
German Lutheran Mission	Lutheran	93	Morobe, S. W. New Britain
Liebenzell Mission	Lutheran	4	Manus
Methodist Missionary Society of Australasia	Methodist	24	New Britain, New Ireland
Methodist Missionary Society of New Zealand	Methodist	3	Kieta
Melanesian Mission	Anglican	7	New Britain
Seventh Day Adventist Mission	Seventh Day Adventist	13	Kieta, New Britain
American Lutheran Mission	Lutheran	34	Madang

Although the table does not show it clearly, the majority of the missionary organizations are working in the islands of the Bismarck Archipelago, that is, in the area of first contact. Nevertheless, they have kept pace, on the whole, with the expanding sphere of general European contact, so that some mission work is now being done in every district of the Territory. Pioneering, such as was performed by Brown and Danks, is currently carried on only in the more remote regions of the

⁴³ *Report to the Council of the League of Nations* (1938), p. 125.

⁴⁴ Compiled from *ibid.* (1931), p. 104; and (1938), p. 125.

mainland; elsewhere, especially in the islands, the generation or more of contact has familiarized a large percentage of the natives with the aims and principles of European missionary enterprise.

Another fact, not readily apparent in the above table, is that 391 of the total number of European missionaries in New Guinea are Germans.⁴⁵ This has provided a longer sustained continuity in the mission institution than in either native administration or European economic enterprise.

As already mentioned, the missionaries have sought out the natives in their own communities and villages. Consequently, the mission stations, except in the parts of the Territory longest inhabited by Europeans, are situated far from European towns, plantations, and government stations. Furthermore, it has proven advisable to set up boundaries marking off the specific area in which each sect or mission society may operate. Not only have the native adherents of rival sects in interstitial areas frequently become embroiled in conflicts, but the missionaries themselves have engaged in acrimonious disputes as to which sect has the right to proselytize in new regions. The Neu-Guinea Kompagnie found it necessary in the 1890's to set up boundaries between areas of exploitation of the Mission of the Sacred Heart of Jesus and the Methodist Mission, but these were constantly overstepped.⁴⁶ The Australian Administration continued the zoning system, and by long usage the boundaries have become fairly well established. Nevertheless, in 1936, a Catholic missionary of Madang was convicted of having wilfully and unlawfully set fire to the dwellings of certain Lutheran catechists in a remote inland village. The Lutheran teachers, he claimed, had followed him into new villages of the hinterland and established schools of their own. The Father wrote to a Patrol Officer as follows: "If you know the great envy between the Catholic and Lutheran natives you will understand that my boys did not like the Lutherans following us and building houses in the neighborhood."⁴⁷ Receiving no immediate official satisfaction, the missionary took the law into his own hands.

Not only do the missions and their converts quarrel among themselves; they are a constant source of irritation to the employers of native labor. In order to augment their meager incomes, the missions have, from very

⁴⁵ Enabling clauses in the peace treaties after the World War allowed German missionaries to continue their work in the Territory.

⁴⁶ H. Blum, *Neu-Guinea und der Bismarckarchipel*, pp. 71-72; H. Schnee, *Bilder aus der Südsee*, pp. 76-77.

⁴⁷ Quoted in Rabaul *Times*, No. 577, May 8, 1936.

earliest times, sought to gain at least a degree of self-sufficiency by commercial undertakings. To this end they have acquired land and laid out coconut plantations,⁴⁸ engaged in trade,⁴⁹ and in general followed the patterns of European exploitation. They are required by law to employ the labor needed in these pursuits under the usual terms of indenture, but, since the European overseers (priests and brothers) serve without pay, the costs of production are much lower than on commercial plantations. Furthermore, they are subsidized, as it were, by benefactions received from Europe, Australia, and America. The competitive aspect of this branch of mission work is strongly resented by European recruiters, planters, and other employers of native labor.

In this respect alone, the mission's function in the acculturation process does not differ from that of the commercial plantation. There is, however, constant pressure on indentured workers to join in the ceremonial forms and ritual practices of Christianity on the mission stations, although, to be sure, the mission's laborers cannot be forced to become Christians unless they so desire. Actually, many refuse baptism.

Secular Europeans are particularly critical of what they regard as the missionaries' desire to use the natives for their own purposes. Where recruiters follow the holy men, they often find natives who are unwilling to recruit until they have been made Christians, or who refuse to serve at places where there is no church of their denomination. A recruiter on the Sepik River recounted the following experience as indicative of the hold the missionaries had acquired in some native villages. Approaching a village in search of boys who would sign on, the recruiter was met by a large but abnormally quiet crowd of natives. He addressed them saying, "*Olrail—disfēla ples i gat boi i laik mekīm pepa?*"⁵⁰ No answer. Again he put the question, but still he received no reply. Following a sharp burst of profanity, one native stepped forward and spoke. "*Masta,*" he said, "*nau taim bilong jasim maus.*"⁵¹

Mission stations provide work for several thousand indentured laborers,

⁴⁸ Approximately 100,000 acres of land are leased to missionary societies at the present time. Roughly 25,000 acres are under cultivation.

⁴⁹ One is shocked when one sees a sign over a mission store reading, "Most Sacred Heart of Jesus, Ltd.," or "Holy Ghost, Ltd." This is, however, simply testimony to the fact that the present Administration exercises strict control over trading activities of the missions, requiring them to register as business concerns.

⁵⁰ "All right. Has this village any boys who want to make a labor contract?"

⁵¹ "Now is the time when our mouths are closed," i.e., the village, converted to Catholicism, was in "retreat."

and are thus comparable in many respects to purely commercial agencies of change. They also give medical care to free villagers in their districts (like the Administration's Department of Public Health) and thereby contribute to the improvement of the native physical stock. But the distinctive characteristic of the mission as an agency of change lies in its consciously adopted policy and ultimate aim: the education of the individual native and the conversion of his culture. Less is heard in mission stations today about totally eradicating the older habits and folkways of the heathen, for the anthropological point of view has found many adherents, especially in the ranks of the younger generation of missionaries.⁵² The older, uncompromising attitude still crops up occasionally, as, for example, when a Catholic missionary on the Sepik River dragged four native women through a men's communal house. He hoped by this forceful means to advance the cause of women's rights by breaking the taboo on their entrance. Instead, as soon as he was safely away, the men beat the four women to death. The Civil Administration appreciates what the missions are doing in the field of education,⁵³ but it cannot tolerate such extreme tactics.

On the whole, mission methods of education strike more deeply into aboriginal culture than do the introduced institutions of native administration and indentured labor—and by less forceful means than the exceptional case just cited would indicate. The earliest missionaries soon learned that their best hope lay in securing the attention of the children. This is still the case on the newer fronts of European contact; in the older centers the present adult generation was reached and partially converted in its youth.

The number of students being taught by Europeans is not so large as might be expected, for more than half of the 658 Europeans attached to mission stations are lay brothers, many of whom are concerned solely with the routine duties of conducting a tropical station. Consequently,

⁵² "Missionary work (itself) has been exposed to tremendous changes, not only in the lapse of the centuries but even in the last few decades. This is a consequence of alterations in European trends of thought connected with social transfigurations and, consequently, with a shift of interests. It is also a reaction to an increased knowledge of the Africans' religious ideas" (R. Thurnwald, *Black and White in East Africa*, p. 205).

"Missions are today inclined to preserve much more (of the aboriginal cultures) than in bygone days" (*ibid.*, p. 229).

⁵³ If it were not for the village schools of the missions, the Government's annual *Report to the Council of the League of Nations* would make a sorry showing in the field of education.

white teaching is at a premium, and only 189 of the 3,000 mission schools have European instructors.

The native students, like the members of labor lines throughout the Territory, are a constantly changing group. Hanselmann⁵⁴ says: "At the beginning of every term the schools are filled to capacity, but during the year a number will drop out, because for many a free, unrestricted native the continual work, study, and seriousness of seminary life proves too much." Although this was written of natives in the Madang District, it is reminiscent of Danks' account written fifty years before the trials of the Wesleyan mission in the Duke of York Group. This clearly indicates that the acculturation process in the outstations is now reaching a stage passed long ago in the islands. In all probability, however, considering the added momentum which the process of contact and change has gained in the intervening period, it will not require fifty more years for the newer stations to close the gap caused by this time lag.

On the staffs of the mission societies important positions are held by nuns, sisters, and nurses, and by the wives of Protestant clergymen and teachers. These women are coming to play a decisive role in the process of acculturation, for they are in direct contact with an ever-increasing number of native women. They instruct the latter not only in academic and religious subjects, but also in new methods of hygiene and infant care. They also seek to instill in mothers and children European principles of morality and new codes of behavior. In this manner they are vitally affecting life in many native societies. Their influence is now felt only within fairly restricted areas, close to the older mission stations. But they follow the men into the hinterland regions of recent contact as rapidly as their numbers and local conditions will permit.

Male missionaries in New Guinea, from the days of the Reverend Brown to the present, have consistently sought to break down the all-pervading aboriginal notions of sex dichotomy. That they can accomplish this to a certain degree without the aid of female fellow-workers is being demonstrated in certain Catholic missions today. But female missionaries and nuns can establish much more intimate relationships with native women, and win for them new rights and status much more rapidly than can the men. Here we detect a sharp contrast between the missions and other institutional agencies of acculturation. The *luluai* scheme of native administration and the system of indentured employment are directly

⁵⁴ R. Hanselmann, *In the Jungles of New Guinea*, p. 44.

concerned only with the male half of the population. Despite the administrator's and the employer's conscious knowledge that native women cannot be disregarded, they have found no suitable place for them in their institutionalized adjustments to the contact situation. The missions, on the other hand, take cognizance of the fact that their teachings must reach the whole population if they are to remold native cultures.

In view of the present inaccessibility of many native societies of New Guinea, it is quite obvious that a few hundred European missionaries can establish direct contact with only a small proportion of the total population. By regular visits among outlying native villages (after the manner of Government patrols), they try to recall periodically to natives the obligations which they have undertaken with their vows and conversion; but in the long intervals between such visits some device is needed to preserve gains already made in checking prohibited heathen practices and safeguarding the progress in learning to read and write and in observing holy days. To this end the missions have concentrated on enlisting the services of more advanced natives as catechists. Approximately 3,000 native teachers have already been appointed by various mission societies⁵⁵ to conduct religious services and to carry on academic instruction in their native village or districts. Local converts cooperate in constructing special buildings to be used for these purposes.

As might be imagined, the zeal displayed and results attained by catechists in their appointed tasks show wide individual variations. Much depends on their personality and their status in the community of their fellows, since the great majority are sent back to their own villages after receiving instruction. They receive no pay from either the mission or the Government, but must be content with whatever prestige accrues to their position. In the newer villages they often have to face open hostility from the really important older men of the tribe. If they turn their backs completely on the practices of the aboriginal culture, as the more zealous among them do, they become revolutionaries within the limits of the old society.

Besides this consciously planned direction of the acculturation process, a great many patterns of native Christianity are being diffused by native adherents themselves as they come in contact with other natives both in

⁵⁵ Three of the smaller missions (Liebenzell, Melanesian, and Seventh Day Adventist), which have European staffs of only four, five, and ten persons respectively, employ a total of only twenty-eight catechists (*Report to the Council of the League of Nations* (1938), p. 125).

labor lines and in their home villages. Our youthful Kwoma house-boys, for example, learned several Christian prayers in Melanesian pidgin from Wisep, one of our imported personal servants who had attended a mission school. Each morning a little group of them could be heard chanting matins with Wisep. The latter, having been a police boy at one time, had more than ordinary prestige in the eyes of Kwoma youths, and this proved sufficient impetus for them to imitate his behavior in this matter.

Christianity has certain specific effects upon native society wherever the missionaries succeed in engrafting it upon the aboriginal culture. These effects, in some cases, pervade the entire society; in other instances they concern individuals only.

In the first place, membership in one of the sects means allegiance to an institution whose personnel is larger than any that ever existed under aboriginal conditions. Christianized natives wear medallions as insignia of the particular society to which they belong, and recognize the distinctions between the several orders: *popi*,⁵⁶ *lutaran*, *seven de*, and the rest. Secondly, the professing Christians in any village have different sets of values and attitudes toward Europeans from those of the pagans. As yet there is scarcely enough difference of opinion to cause village splits over matters of behavior and ethics, as is the case on some South African reserves, but the way is being prepared for such developments.⁵⁷ And, in the third place, the mission teaches a strict morality, often at radical variance with traditional ethical notions and therefore productive of psychic unrest in individuals. The latter arises not only from the manifest difference between the codes and practices of Christianity and paganism, but also from the awareness of the natives that Europeans themselves vary markedly in their adherence to Christian ideals. Many whites in New Guinea not only dispense with the outward forms of Christian observance, but are also openly critical of all missionary endeavors. Natives frequently hear the whole missionary group cursed in very unChristian language. Missionaries strive to protect their flock from contact with ideas which might destroy their work, for they know that Christianity

⁵⁶ Melanesian pidgin term for a member of the Sacred Heart of Jesus Mission. The derivation of the other terms is obvious. Adherents of the Mission of the Holy Ghost are simply called *katalik*.

⁵⁷ Among the Bantu-speaking tribes of South Africa, who have been in longer contact with larger numbers of Europeans, a noticeable dichotomy exists between the "dressed people," as Christian natives are called, and pagans. This is true in European towns, on European-owned farms, and also in the native reserves (See M. Hunter, *Reaction to Conquest, passim*).

rests lightly on those natives who profess it, and that rationalism, even among New Guinea aborigines, conflicts with belief.⁵⁸

An oft-repeated criticism of missions in New Guinea is that they merely substitute a new set of deities, fetishes, and supernatural powers for the native variety.⁵⁹ This is probably true; more important, however, is the fact that they also insist upon certain codes of conduct which are hedged about with practical sanctions of their own. Whether there is more ultimate "truth" in Christianity than in totemistic animism is a question for metaphysical argumentation and, as such, is beside the point here. But the fact that the new deities demand new standards of conduct—an end of inter-tribal warfare, abolition of "obscene" (to Europeans) ceremonial practices, strict adherence to monogamy, the wearing of clothing, and so on—immediately brings the matter within sociological range. Furthermore, in addition to sanctioned changes in morals, natives who are reached by the missions have the opportunity to acquire the rudiments of an education, some skill or trade, and, as teachers and catechists, positions of growing importance in the new social life of the Territory. These are factors which make the missions outstandingly important agencies in the process of contact and change.

One point more regarding missions before we turn to the question of caste. Europeans in New Guinea are wont to condemn the missionized native as a shrewd and untrustworthy individual, if not a proven liar and thief. Employers of indentured labor prefer natives fresh from the bush who speak no word of pidgin to those who come to them by way of mission schools. This is a bit of dogmatic belief which one constantly meets among Europeans in governmental as well as private positions.

What is the basis of this idea which is so unquestionably accepted? Can it be true, as Williams⁶⁰ asks, that the strenuous efforts of missionaries to instill Christian virtues in the natives have had just the opposite effect?

⁵⁸ Wisep, our houseboy, was a good Catholic as native Catholics go. He said his prayers regularly, had a vivid knowledge of his own sins (he had killed one native in a grudge fight), feared Hell, and was currently enjoying his seventh wife. He held to his adopted faith despite the fact that he had worked for several Europeans who openly ridiculed the whole system of religious dogma which he had absorbed in his mission schooling. Each Sunday, week after week, he would draw us out in religious discussion, painfully endeavoring to reconcile the three systems struggling for supremacy in his own mind: his childhood religion, Catholicism, and rationalism.

⁵⁹ Pitt-Rivers has said, "The missionary is given by law the monopoly and sole right to practice what from the native's point of view is simply an alien and competitive magic—a magic which doesn't serve as an integrating force in the society—quite the opposite." (*The Clash of Cultures and the Contact of Races*, p. 205.)

⁶⁰ F. E. Williams, *The Blending of Cultures*, p. 31.

It seems hardly likely. Two factors, I believe, offer clues to the correct interpretation of the prevailing European attitude toward mission-trained natives. In the first place, there is a strong prejudice among the general European population against missionary work itself.⁶¹ Working intimately with natives, missionaries cannot and do not observe all the strict canons of white prestige, the code of caste. This alone sets them apart from the rest of the Europeans. More important, however, is the fact that the missions interfere in European exploitative undertakings and even, in some cases, actively compete in the European economy of the Territory. Antagonisms thus generated are vented upon mission natives (as representatives of the missions themselves) who are powerless to make any real protest. In the second place, missionized natives live in an atmosphere of strongly conflicting social ties. Their old beliefs are under severe strain, and their new allegiances are not strongly developed. This divided loyalty engenders strongly conflicting emotions. Court returns do not disclose whether the incidence of crime among mission natives is greater or less than among pagans. This may or may not be so; what matters is that Europeans think that it is greater. They do not take into consideration the fact that mission-trained natives are, as a rule, more sophisticated than others, and that within the broader horizons of their view more temptations, more causes for conflict, and more frictions unquestionably appear. Indeed, it is the mission native's greater sophistication, in my opinion, which, more than anything else, keeps alive the universal dislike for his type. He is less subservient, as a rule, and knows more about the statutory limitations on the behavior of Europeans towards him. Moreover, the catechist or mission student bears the distinguishing mark of conversion, so that if he performs any un-Christian act the whole system, of which he is merely a part, is held at fault. Reasoning *pars pro toto* is a common feature of caste. The importance for the native of this set of conditions will appear more clearly in the following section.

THE CASTE SYSTEM

That caste lines should be drawn in modern New Guinea seems so natural that at first blush it might appear unworthy of special mention. Europeans are so far removed in culture, language, and physical type

⁶¹ During the Rabaul "strike" of 1929 the immediate explanation offered by the European residents was that "the missions were behind the whole affair," whereas, as it later appeared beyond doubt, they had not the slightest inkling of it.

from natives of New Guinea that the erection of caste barriers here appears as a perfectly normal process, one which has analogues in colonial dependencies, protectorates, and crown colonies the world over. Yet this phenomenon made its appearance only with the establishment of permanent contact, and has had an evolutionary development of its own during the relatively brief period of European settlement.

Several anthropologists who have worked in New Guinea have spent much effort in trying to reconstruct the history of those indigenous native groups which show traces of aboriginal class- or caste-stratification. Whether or not their theories that seafaring peoples invaded the district in times past and subdued the *Urvölker* are correct, it seems strange that none of them has seen fit to examine the concrete reality of the same type of phenomenon which they hypothecate in process today as a few thousand Europeans extend their political and social suzerainty over a half-million natives.

In their earliest contacts with natives, Europeans in New Guinea manifested no such insistence on caste distinctions as they do today.⁶² Since there was no traditional class- or caste-subservience in most New Guinea cultures, natives had yet to be "taught their place." Moreover, the position of these early Europeans was often so precarious that it would have been dangerous for them to insist upon such niceties of approach as are now demanded on the part of natives.

It is possible for castes to be based solely upon biological differences, as in southern United States today.⁶³ In New Guinea, however, not only are there differences in skin color, features, and hair form, but wide divergencies in culture and language as well. The *lingua franca* of Melanesian pidgin, indispensable as it is, is a despised jargon to Europeans and forms but a fragile bond of union at best. Consequently, the ethnocentrism of the white group has the broadest possible target against which to vent its animosities and aggressions.

The Germans, in their time, laid the foundations of the present caste system, just as they also established the principal methods of native administration and exploitation in use in New Guinea today. They were, however, more abrupt and forceful in their manner of emphasizing the servile status of the native than are the Australians of the present time. Consequently, in the German period, there were heard no outcries about

⁶² See Chapter III, and Appendices I and II, *passim*.

⁶³ J. Dollard, *Caste and Class in a Southern Town*, p. 64.

a "black menace," such as now emanate from the European communities and pressure groups. The Germans were not noticeably less caste-conscious⁶⁴ than are the Australians, but they ruled the islands at a period when modern humanitarianism—some call it sentimentality—with regard to subject races was less prevalent than today. The Australians must tread more cautiously in the field of native affairs for fear of arousing adverse opinion at home. The principles of British democracy as applied to native administration are epitomized in the Mandate clause guaranteeing "the moral and material progress of the natives," and all administrative activities are judged in the light of this humanitarian ideal rather than on the basis of an empirical analysis of practical requirements. Inevitably, there must be, therefore, a greater discrepancy between British claims and British practice than there was between German principles and actions in the old days. The Australians manage to pay formal homage to humanitarianism and, at the same time, achieve their mundane purposes by giving with one hand what they take away with the other. Cloaked in undefined slogans and spurious rationalizations, discriminatory practices are as strong at present as they have ever been.

"White prestige" is the concept, doctrine, and slogan which caps the caste structure in New Guinea today; any act or practice judged as tending to lower that prestige is regarded as a peril to white supremacy. So long as European domination avowedly rested upon armed guards and European weapons of war, there could be no threat to the white man's position. But now that rights have been freely parceled out to the natives and the use of armed force is condemned, the white man resorts to caste rules—taboos, prescriptions, and juridical sanctions—to assure his continuing superiority. The stock colonial conceit of the Englishman who dresses for dinner each night in the heart of the jungle is a manifest absurdity. Nevertheless, this caricature does symbolize a vital aspect of British culture, namely, its extreme ethnocentrism when it experiences the impact of foreign cultures. Not many white men in New Guinea bother to change into fresh "whites," after a long day's work. They do, however, symbolize their cultural integrity and superiority in other ways.

One must visit the larger centers of contact in New Guinea to see the caste system operating in its most highly developed form. It functions in

⁶⁴ Pfeil said that among the hundreds of natives working on plantations, in daily contact with whites, he knew of not one who stood in a friendly and approachable relationship with Europeans (*Studien und Beobachtungen aus der Südsee*, p. 136).

out-stations, missions, and plantations also, but not with the same vigor. In Wau, Madang, Kavieng, and Rabaul, and in other centers of white population, the "native problem," as it is verbalized in European conversation, means the problem of keeping natives in a servile position. Any behavior of natives capable of being interpreted as overstepping caste lines is labeled "cheekiness." Individual Europeans differ in their interpretations of what constitutes "cheeky" conduct, but it factors down to native words and acts which fail to connote proper respect for white prestige. A native who talks back to a white man in areas of long European contact is considered dangerous, even though he is within his legal rights. He usually knows this, having learned it in one of three ways: first, by trial and error experience in and out of court; second, by word of mouth from natives who have had such experience; and third, by education from government officers, missionaries, or other whites.

Dollard⁶⁵ has said: "People who impose an inferior status on other people, as the whites have done to Negroes, notice that eventually resistance dies down and the inferior group accepts its status, or at least gets used to it and regards it as one of the conditions of life." New Guinea natives, like the Southern Negro, accept their position of inferiority, but the etiquette of race relations in this contact situation is not as yet so clearly defined. To take an example, two European recruiters in the Sepik District demand quite contrary responses from the natives among whom they go. One allows any and all natives to call him by his first name, but never allows them to be in his presence while he is dressing; the other will not countenance a native addressing him by his first or last name without prefixing the honorific "master," but thinks nothing of exposing himself naked to the gaze of an entire village. Each thinks that the other is lowering white prestige.

In Rabaul and other centers, the castes never mingle socially except for business reasons. Natives never enter white stores except on errands for their masters. When they do, they always use a side entrance. There is contact, of course, between personal servants and Europeans in the intimacy of white homes, but even there Europeans seldom joke with their boys or seek any level of mutual interest.⁶⁶ Addressing a native woman

⁶⁵ J. Dollard, *op. cit.*, p. 384.

⁶⁶ The following case, illustrative of one aspect of the caste barrier, is not at all unusual. An old prospector with thirty years of experience in dealing with natives in both Papua and New Guinea stood outside a hotel in Rabaul giving a message to the personal servant of a white friend. At that moment a young planter from Kavieng emerged from the bar,

on the street is regarded as tantamount to an admission of having an affair with her.

It is interesting to note that the pattern of white supremacy is consciously inculcated by Europeans, not only in their children, but even in their dogs. Dogs owned by Europeans are ordinarily trained not to tolerate natives. This makes them valuable as watchdogs and keeps prowling natives away from European houses. If a dog becomes friendly with natives, its owner will say, "Yes, Rover was a good pooch, until he went *kanaka*."

Always in the development of any pattern of race relations, certain codes of conduct for the subject people gradually take form. The "black code" of New Guinea is still in the process of completion and crystallization. It is sufficiently integrated and well enough known to operate effectively, however, and is being diffused in an ever-widening circle, mainly through the movements of and contacts between indentured laborers. In newly visited areas and at base camps the raw natives observe and imitate the deferential behavior of police boys and personal servants toward the white master. Bush natives who are too forward in their relations with a white man may receive a warning kick or a slap in the face from the latter's servant, or they may be laughed out of countenance by the more sophisticated work boys and police.⁶⁷

The black code is complemented by a corresponding code of white behavior, and newcomers to the Territory learn it rapidly. A few white men, aware of the complexities of the problem, counsel caution and

slightly drunk. He noticed the two in conversation and approached, shouting, "Don't talk to that boy! That's what's ruining the Territory!"

It is difficult to make broad generalizations in this matter, but I found, in general, that the length of residence in the Territory is inversely proportional to the amount of concern for white prestige. Among older men, who have had most experience with natives, the matter is taken lightly. I well remember hearing a young Australian's words on the subject (he had been three months in the Territory). In speaking of the native problem someone in the group used the term "we whites." The new man took offense, saying, "I don't consider that there are any 'whites' here; we are 'white masters.'"

⁶⁷I once took Gwiup, one of our young Kwoma house boys, to the government post at Ambunti. His connection with me gave him access to the house of my host, the white Medical Assistant. While the latter and myself were sitting on the veranda engaged in conversation, Gwiup appeared, chose a comfortable looking seat, and sat down. Other house boys standing near were shocked into silence, until the tolerant Medical Assistant asked, "*Olsen Wotnem? Yu laik k̄issim ti wantaim long masta*"? (How is this? Do you want to have tea with the white men?)

At this neat coup the other house boys went off into gales of laughter, and the subsequent ribbing that he received taught Gwiup very clearly that natives do not fraternize with all whites as he had with us.

tolerance, but they can hardly make themselves heard above the chorus of the prejudiced majority. The Rabaul *Times*, since its founding in 1925, has served as a sounding board for all shades of opinion on the "native question." Its columns throw considerable light on the nature of the white code and the pressure to conform which it carries. In an editorial entitled "Beer, Brawls, and Prestige,"⁶⁸ for instance, we read: "There have been several boats lately in our port, and there have been several bloody encounters in the precincts of Chinatown between various members of ships' crews, which have resulted in much gore being strewed over the cement floors, to the amusement of the native witnesses . . . For the sake of the white man, who lives in a black man's country, such public exhibitions of the low down traits of character of such a class of whites should be eliminated. The white man's most valuable weapon in this country is the prestige of the white race . . ."

Again, one reads,⁶⁹ "All things considered it is not to be wondered at that the natives in Rabaul are apt to grow insolent. Unfortunately for the permanent residents, there are a number of visitors to this place who have apparently no idea of how to treat kanakas. A glaring example of this took place recently, when a number of white men from one of the ships in port challenged a party of kanakas to a game of football . . ."

On another occasion, a correspondent wrote,⁷⁰ "It was a most disgusting sight to see a number of white men fraternizing with coloured men emanating from some [other] islands in the Pacific . . . The whites concerned evidently did not think it beneath their dignity to personally serve them with drink, and, to cap it all, danced and sang freely with them.

Heaven knows our prestige is low enough. Why are these Pacific Islanders allowed in a public bar—because they are American subjects? . . . The colour line must be drawn somewhere!

(signed) Onlooker"

So the comments go. When they are not criticising the natives for lack of respect, they stress the point that the whites cannot expect to have that respect unless they live up to the ideal pattern of conduct. A more serious interpretation of the matter was well presented by one B. W. Nash,⁷¹ a planter, who said in part, "The only logical solution of the native . . . problem is that, being unable to alter the type of kanaka available, im-

⁶⁸ Rabaul *Times*, No. 22, September 18, 1925.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, No. 153, March 30, 1928, editorial: "Mixed Football."

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, No. 205, March 22, 1929.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, No. 251, February 7, 1930.

provement can only be effected by altering the type of white overseer . . . Too often we get the white man who is ashamed to be seen caring for natives in a human way lest he be mistaken for a 'missionary' or be accused of being a 'kanaka man.'

"At the present time many undesirable types are employed to supervise labour, not necessarily bad men, often merely unsuitable men. There is, for instance, the nervous type who is often unnecessarily cruel because he is actually afraid. Believing himself to be isolated in a lonely spot amongst savages, he tries to be the 'strong man,' which by nature he is not.

"We have, also, the man who will not allow his boys to chew betelnut, or to paint themselves, or to put flowers in their hair. Or the man who cannot stand the sound of 'kundus' at night. Such men are not interested in the cause or necessity for such customs. If the thing annoys them the natives must be made to give it up.

"[There is also] . . . the self-indulgent overseer (unfortunately all too common) who gets drunk and neglects his labour for days at a time.

"Finally, there is the type of young man who cannot be bothered with natives and thinks it 'infra dig' to dress a festering wound or to see that each boy gets his issue of food."

Class conflict centers principally around economic position and advantage, but caste conflict focuses on social, ultimately sexual, contacts.⁷² The sexual problem is a factor of such recent appearance in New Guinea that we have left it for discussion until last. As in caste-stratified societies generally, the males of the European group in New Guinea have always had access to female natives.⁷³ The reverse situation (male natives having access to European women), however, was until recently almost non-existent because of the absence of white women. Sir Hubert Murray,⁷⁴ speaking for the neighboring Territory of Papua, has said, "There has

⁷² J. Dollard, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

⁷³ Australian cultural norms referring to sexual behavior are notably more strict in regard to miscegenation, however, than were those of the Germans. The lack of attraction which New Guinea women hold for European men has undoubtedly inhibited widespread miscegenation between the two races, Germans and Australians included. But the Germans in their time commonly kept Malay and Polynesian mistresses and also supported Japanese *geisha* establishments in the towns. Not only have the Australians banished all houses of prostitution; they have also passed legislation making it an offense for Europeans to keep single native women on their premises. This may be circumvented in outstations by the European's buying a wife for one of his personal servants with the understanding that her sexual favors are to be his alone. So long as the European remains in the good graces of his District Officer nothing may be done, but the District Officer has this as a constant threat over the European.

⁷⁴ *Papua of Today*, p. 94.

never been one [case of assault on a white woman] . . . which even remotely suggested an intention to commit a rape. Offences of this kind are more common in South Africa than in the Pacific, and have been attributed partly to the fact that ladies in South Africa habitually allow their native 'boys' to attend them in their bedrooms, when they are themselves either in bed or very lightly clothed."

Sir Hubert to the contrary notwithstanding, undoubted cases of criminal attack on white women have occurred in New Guinea, and the threat of more to follow has brought the whole problem of caste strongly to the fore.⁷⁵ Since punishment seems to exercise no deterrent effect, the Administration has been unable to check the assaults. Citizens' meetings publicly call attention to "the alarming increase of crimes by natives against European women" and "the growing lack of discipline and respect amongst natives towards Europeans."⁷⁶

What lies behind this wave of semi-hysteria which has recently spread among the white residents of the Territory? Several important facts may be cited. First, working natives in the European centers are deprived of the normal sexual outlets possible in village life. Secondly, native boys at work in many European households are constantly in the presence of white women. They serve morning tea to the master and mistress while the latter are still in bed, and are called on throughout the day to perform many duties in the house. The white women look on the boys as hardly human, and sometimes appear before them in stages of undress which they would consider extreme in the presence of white men.⁷⁷ It seems somewhat strange that the sight of an unclad European female should be sexually exciting to men inured to almost complete nudity among their own women. Such, however, seems to be the case, if court records may be believed. The imprudence of some whites is illustrated in the following instance. An Australian woman residing in Rabaul was in the habit of having one of her house boys give her a daily massage. After one rub-down she was lying unclad on her bed when she spied the eyes of the erstwhile masseur peering over a partition from the next room. The boy

⁷⁵ The first case of this sort occurred during the period of Australian military occupation. It caused "the greatest sensation" (J. Lyng, *Island Films*, p. 83-84).

⁷⁶ *Citizens Association of New Guinea* (broadside) dated Rabaul, 7th April, 1937.

⁷⁷ A government officer told me of his once being detailed to serve certain papers to a married man in Rabaul. He went to the latter's home and knocked on the porch railing. The lady of the house suddenly appeared at the door clad in the flimsiest of negligees. Her salutation is worthy of note. "Oh, pardon me," she said, "I thought it was a boy."

was caught and punished, the court prescribing a flogging and two years' penal servitude at hard labor.

In view of the sexually abnormal life of native laborers and servants and the intimate contacts of the latter with white women, it is not surprising that assaults occur. One possible factor we have not mentioned, but it cannot be ruled out entirely, is that some natives probably have had sexual access to white women without detection, either with assent or in acts of rape which the women have been ashamed to admit publicly.⁷⁸ One boy who was apprehended after attempting an assault on a white woman was cross-examined as to how he thought he could get away with it. His answer was "*Mi laiḵ trai ěm, dasol.*" Officials of long experience in the Territory, commenting in private on this reply, were of the opinion that the boy probably would not have attempted the attack unless he had had some notion, however derived, that his advances would not be rejected.

The hue and cry lately raised over the question of native assaults on white women would almost lead one to believe that every white woman in the Territory is in danger. "Boy-proof" sleeping rooms, enclosed by heavy chicken wire, were being installed in 1937, at government expense, in all houses where European women resided. The fact is, however, that almost all the attacks have taken place in the large towns.⁷⁹ White women who live constantly among masses of natives in the outstations cannot understand why those in large European settlements should feel in any danger.⁸⁰ They are scarcely aware of the problem as it exists in towns. In one known case of attack in the goldfields, the woman herself gave the boy a thorough beating, and nothing more was done in the matter.

It is not surprising that attacks should be made by sexually maladjusted natives on white women. These attacks, however, are magnified by frightened Europeans to the point where they appear as assaults on white womanhood in general—in fact on the white race itself. Therefore, it is not strange that public opinion in the European community should be mobilized to press for a more comprehensive and stringent

⁷⁸ In March, 1937, the Administrator made a forceful plea to the white women of the Territory that they suspend their personal feelings and testify against any native who might have given them offense. Couched in phrases of duty and civic virtue, the address was productive of a flurry of confessions, and charges were brought against certain natives.

⁷⁹ Twenty-six cases were tried and twenty-six convictions secured in 1936-1937.

⁸⁰ I discussed this matter at length with one recruiter's wife on the Sepik River and several miners' wives in Morobe District.

native policy. The majority believes that the problem of sexual aggression, indeed, the problem of all offences by natives, would be solved by imposing more drastic punishments. Government officials, it says, should be granted liberal discretionary power to flog without trial any native who gives offence. The whole reason for the lack of discipline amongst natives, according to the Citizens Association, is the too literal interpretation by the Administration of the laws of the Territory. They say that emphasis should be placed upon the spirit rather than upon the letter of the law.⁸¹ It is only fair to state that the non-official European community in New Guinea has had almost no voice in drawing up the statutes of the Territory. In any case, it is perfectly evident that as the regulations now stand they do not stress caste sufficiently to satisfy a large and vociferous proportion of the European residents of the country. Since the Territorial Government is vitally dependent on European enterprise for its proper maintenance, I think it inevitable that the law will ultimately be altered, reducing the civil rights of the natives and imposing more drastic sanctions on his caste-determined behavior.

THE EFFECTS OF CONTACT ON THE ABORIGINAL CULTURES

The new institutions of government, the system of indentured labor, the mission, and pidgin speech are all parts of the emerging culture configuration of modern New Guinea society. These new realities, and the caste system which invests each and every one, constitute the life conditions to which the erstwhile savage must adjust. In coping with these conditions, the native is at first equipped only with the behavior patterns of his own culture and whatever "native" intelligence he may possess. Through the various European agencies of change he gradually acquires knowledge of and experience in a wider world than that of his native village. When he returns to his home he carries with him new habits of thought and behavior, and these imported elements inevitably precipitate variations in the aboriginal culture.

If the factual material available permitted, it would be highly desirable to present detailed descriptions of several New Guinea societies in various stages of acculturation. We might then contrast the societies of the eastern part of the Bismarck Archipelago, which are well along in the

⁸¹ Rabaul *Times*, No. 641, September 17, 1937. Report of Citizens Association, New Britain Branch, September meeting.

second generation of contact, with, say, those of the plateaus of central New Guinea, which have known Europeans for less than a decade. In this manner we might arrive at generalizations having some predictive value. The entire period of contact between Europeans and natives in this Territory has been so short, however, that the process of contact and change still exhibits marked uniformity wherever it occurs. For this reason it is feasible to consider the phenomena of contact as they appear in various sections of the Territory as parts of a single integrated process.

When white men come in contact with primitive peoples, one possible result may be the annihilation of the natives. Many primitive peoples have disappeared completely following their contact with Europeans. In other instances, the aboriginal population, though not exterminated, has been culturally detribalized and socially decimated. Unfortunately, vital statistics for New Guinea are not so reliable as we might wish. Poor as they are, however, they show conclusively that no such wholesale decline is taking place among the native population as has occurred in other island areas of the Pacific. In some districts of New Guinea, the population in the last few years has been almost stationary; elsewhere the increase or decline has been very slight. On the east coast of New Ireland, for example, the decimation feared by the Germans has failed to eventuate, although the population does continue to decrease a little each year. Chinnery⁸² reported in 1930 that this population was beginning to hold its own; but the small decrease continues. Such instances are offset by slight increases in other subdivisions, so that the total figures for New Ireland give no cause for alarm.

A study undertaken in the Morobe District, in 1937, produced a noteworthy conclusion.⁸³ The investigator reports: "A general trend is noticeable in the [population] progress of a subdivision. Usually for some years after contact is made with a new tribe the population is found to be increasing but at a falling rate. As the people come more under control and the number of indentured labourers increases, the population becomes stationary and begins to decrease. Then after a varying number of years while it apparently adjusts itself to the new way of living, it begins to increase, and finally increases vigorously except for occasional

⁸² E. W. P. Chinnery, *Studies of the Native Population of the East Coast of New Ireland*.

⁸³ L. Vial, "Some Statistical Aspects of Population in the Morobe District, New Guinea," *Oceania*, Vol 8 (1937-38), p. 389.

disastrous outbreaks of introduced diseases such as influenza." Despite the anti-climax in the last phrase, the purport of the article from which it was taken gives the lie—so far as New Guinea is concerned—to Rivers' *taedium vitae* theory of population decline in Melanesia. Rivers, while recognizing that disease, unbalanced diet, and unsuitable clothing were the immediate causes of mortality, nevertheless sought for a deeper, psychological explanation.⁸⁴ Briefer contacts with Europeans and better medical care during the period of contact seem to have compensated in New Guinea societies for the (possible) "loss of interest in life" stressed by Rivers. Although the methods and extent of caring for the natives' welfare can still stand a great deal of improvement, it is certain that the New Guinea population is at least holding its own.

(a) *Effects on the Economic Institutions.* Primitive man was once believed to have so few needs that the only trade-articles he desired at first were those which gratified his love for ostentation. This has never been the case in New Guinea, where tribe after tribe of new, previously unknown peoples have been encountered, from the time of Finsch's explorations down to the present. Always they have first demanded iron tools; only after these most highly desired articles are in their hands will they show interest in beads, face paint, and calico. If one enters the uncontrolled area of the Upper Sepik River today he is surrounded by natives who literally howl for iron knives, axes, and fishhooks. In all except the most remote regions, however, the simpler types of European tools and artifacts have almost entirely replaced aboriginal implements. These may be purchased from trade stores, from recruiters, or they may pass from hand to hand along the old trade routes which criss-cross the Territory on land and water.

The new tools themselves have not materially altered the older methods of craftsmanship. Plane blades are substituted for shell or stone heads in adzes, and paring knives replace sharpened boars' tusks, but the old methods of use, the learned motor habits, survive the change. The new tools, however, have enabled the people to perform their work in less time and with less expenditure of energy. At the same time, unfortunately, the artistic quality of the products has declined markedly. Few carvings, masks, and dance objects, little bone and feather work is seen today which can compare in workmanship and beauty with objects dating from

⁸⁴ W. H. R. Rivers, ed., *Essays on the Depopulation of Melanesia*, p. 96.

pre-European times in museums.⁸⁵ It is noteworthy that the artifacts listed above are mainly the products of men's work. Women's occupations and crafts—pottery, basketry, and the manufacture of string bags—have undergone less change through European contact. The reason is obvious: young men are recruited at an age when they would ordinarily be learning native crafts from their fathers; they leave the village for a three-year period or more and lose, through lack of practice, what little skill they may already have acquired. Women, on the other hand, remain in the village and carry on their traditional work. Notwithstanding this, changes do enter the sphere of female crafts, for when the men return they bring bolts of calico, iron pots, and empty kerosene tins as presents to their wives and sisters, thus striking at the manufacture of both tapa clothing and pottery. Finally, religious beliefs, which dictated the patterns of so many aboriginal artistic expressions, have lost their formerly unchallenged importance in native life.

Another basic economic change concerns diet. Foreign food plants and fruits (such as squash, maize, tomato, manioc, papaya, and pineapple) have been eagerly accepted by natives everywhere.⁸⁶ It is impossible to say whether more food is produced now than formerly, but there is certainly a greater variety. Many villages contract to supply European traders regularly with their surplus food produce, tobacco, and areca nuts. The traders sell these products to employers of natives in all part of the Territory. This is the standard method of increasing wealth in currency and goods in many villages.

Imitating European methods, those natives who own coconut plantations now lay them out much more efficiently than in the old days. In the Blanche Bay region, they are copying (with governmental assistance) white procedure in the production of smoke-dried copra. Formerly, natives always sold their *drais* to European establishments, where the final processing was carried out. Now, however, several Blanche Bay villages possess *haus smok*⁸⁷ of their own, and are turning out quite as good a grade of copra as the average European plantation. They

⁸⁵ It must not be assumed that the substitution of European for native tools has alone brought about a retrogression in artistic expression. The case is far more complex and depends upon revolutionary changes in all aspects of life: economic, social, and ceremonial. Fundamentally, the abandonment of indigenous art may be laid to the violent shifts in values which accompany, and grow out of, intensive cultural contacts.

⁸⁶ The natives cannot be induced to grow rice, even though it is a favorite food of work-boys.

⁸⁷ Copra-driers.

receive the prevailing market price for their product. In 1935-36, native income from copra amounted to more than £13,000; most of this money would formerly have gone to Europeans.⁸⁸

The relatively high prices paid for copra in 1937⁸⁹ led many natives in villages near the oldest European settlements to spend most of their working time producing this commodity. As a consequence, not a few families became dependent for food on rice and tinned meat, which they purchased out of their earnings. The number who thus completely abandoned the tribal mode of subsistence was never large, and a drop in the price of copra sent most of them back to their gardens. The case is noteworthy, however, as the first complete break away from a tribal economy.

The Administration has encountered considerable resistance to its plans for resettlement of entire villages, but the statement of Roberts⁹⁰ that "even today the natives of New Guinea prefer to build in a swamp if possible, as it saves them the trouble of burying refuse" is obviously an absurd generalization. The bonds of kinship expressed in spatial grouping and location of houses, the adjustment of village plan to economic factors of production and exchange, and the dictates of tribal tradition—all contribute a share to the type and scene of the settlement. When the Germans were attempting to facilitate trade with the natives of the Gazelle Peninsula by building roads into the interior, the natives put many hindrances in their way. The Germans persisted, and the natives, giving up the struggle, moved their hamlets away from the highways.⁹¹ The Australians have frequently tried to persuade people in scattered hamlets to build lined villages, which would be easier to control and regulate; but while new houses may be built in the approved fashion, the natives seldom live in them except during the period of the government patrol. The older patterns are still too strong to allow such a sudden shift. Missions have enjoyed more success in getting certain tribes which formerly lived in ground-level houses to build pile-dwellings with raised floors.⁹²

In each village of the controlled area, the principal outward symbols

⁸⁸ This development, openly abetted by the Department of District Services and Native Affairs, is "viewed with alarm" by private European producers. A revised Copra Bill, pending in 1937, sought to impose certain restrictions on native products in favor of Europeans in order to reduce this competitive threat.

⁸⁹ £18 per ton. It costs Europeans roughly £4 a ton to produce.

⁹⁰ S. Roberts, *Population Problems of the Pacific*, p. 84.

⁹¹ P. Kleintitschen, *Die Küstenbewohner der Gazellehalbinsel*, p. 45.

⁹² B. Blackwood, *Both Sides of Buḡa Passage*, p. 22.

of the changed conditions of life are the *haus kiap*,⁹³ the *haus boi*,⁹⁴ and, sometimes, the *skul*.⁹⁵ Where the missions have done away with the ancient ceremonial houses, these new buildings are the only structures with a purely social purpose.

Village sanitation has also been affected by European contact. Remote communities, where the old taboos still hold, are remarkably clean. This is owing to the ancient belief in the danger of sorcery worked by means of bodily exuviae and food scraps. In villages which are under constant surveillance of Patrol Officers, also, a high degree of cleanliness may be maintained. But communities which have had some contact but are not patrolled more than once a year often reek with filth. The villages of the Lower Sepik tributaries are good examples. Here the condition may be attributed not only to the slackening of old taboos, but also to the absence of a large proportion of the adult males, away at work under indenture.

Another factor which is having a marked effect on tribal life is the great increase in inter-tribal trade. Under the *Pax Britannica* the people have been able to expand their trading areas far beyond former limits. They are even abandoning their slower canoes and seek passage on the boats of recruiters and other white men. Friendships arising among boys in labor lines frequently survive in trade-friendships after the boys have finished their period of contract.⁹⁶ The articles that now figure in trade evidence the changed economy: stick-tobacco, pipes, calico, belts, tools, beads, face-paint, and the like are constantly being exchanged from tribe to tribe, in addition to native foods, artifacts and utensils, and ceremonial paraphernalia.

The use of shilling-currency is a new phenomenon in village economics. The annual head-tax must be paid in specie, and this makes necessary the acquisition of money. Shillings are not simply hoarded, however, against the annual visit of the taxpatrol; an increasing amount of native trade is carried on with the new currency as the standard of value. The fact that in many tribes part of the bride price is paid in shillings shows how thoroughly this new element has been incorporated into native life. Its acceptance has doubtless been facilitated by the widespread use of shell

⁹³ The rest-house for government officials or other European visitors.

⁹⁴ The rest-house for native police, who always accompany government officers on patrol.

⁹⁵ The mission church or school.

⁹⁶ H. Hogbin, "Trading Expeditions in Northern New Guinea," *Oceania*, Vol. 5 (1934-35), p. 399.

money under aboriginal conditions. The latter has not disappeared, but it constantly loses ground before the advance of the New Guinea *mark*.

The continuing absence of large numbers of young men serving under indenture inevitably affects the economic life of their native villages. The chains of kinship obligations and reciprocal gift-givings are temporarily broken; and the social stimulus to produce great quantities of food for ceremonies of initiation is lacking. When the boys finish their time and return to their homes carrying camphorwood boxes laden with white men's goods, the tribal economic system again functions with some of its former force as gifts are distributed. But the basis of production of the gifts lies in a new system of economy radically different from the old.

(b) *Effects on the Institutions of Social Control.* The outlawry of war, head-hunting, cannibalism, sorcery, and murder by the white Governments has had far-reaching effects on aboriginal cultures. Against these practices Europeans present a solid front of opposition; missionaries and recruiters, as well as government officials, insist that these practices must be given up.

Those anthropologists who place most emphasis on the functional integration of aboriginal culture are apt to stress unduly the disintegration which, they say, must follow the forced abandonment of any one of the practices. There is another side to the question. How do natives themselves, the actual victims of head-hunting or sorcery, feel about the functional importance and necessity of these patterns? One answer to this question can be deduced from an incident we witnessed among the Kwoma. When several members of the Waskuk sub-tribe died in rapid succession, grave fears were aroused that some of the older men who knew the formulas were practicing sorcery. A group of young finish-timers who believed in it, although they had not yet learned how to perform it, came to us asking that we persuade the Government to come in and put a stop to this highly dangerous practice. Here were natives who had learned that there is now a higher court of appeal than the tribunal of customary law.⁹⁷

All kinds of less important cases, involving disputes within villages and between members of neighboring communities, are now submitted to the white man for arbitration. Although the government officers and the

⁹⁷ "Many natives think that the abolition of warfare by the White Government is beneficial to them. In discussing it, they seem to appreciate particularly the freedom to move about among different peoples, who belong to other linguistic districts, without fear of war" (H. Powdermaker, *Life in Lesu*, p. 215, note).

Courts of Native Affairs are recognized as the highest authority, all white men are regarded as possible arbiters in native disputes.

The outstanding result of recognition of the authority of the white man is the rapid weakening of the powers of the older men, be they chiefs, sib-leaders, or merely "big men." A striking instance of this occurred on the Sepik River in 1936. A native, still in the prime of life, from Mindimbit village, had been a "big man" among his fellow-tribesmen prior to the arrival of the white Government. He constantly boasted of his former prowess in head-hunting, and of the eight victims to his credit. Younger natives of Angerman, a neighboring but unfriendly village, taunted him and accused him of being a "has-been," unable to compete with the power of the *Kiap*. To vindicate himself, the former head-hunter fell on a defenseless finish-timer, who was returning to his home on the Southeast River, and killed him. His moment of triumph over his traducers was brief, however, for the *Kiap* caught him and had him hanged.

It is no longer true, as many observers in New Guinea formerly held, that natives regard a prison sentence merely as a kind of vacation. The *kalabus*⁹⁸ suffers little social stigma, to be sure, but the onerous duties of convict labor and packdrill, combined with the frequently rough handling by native warders, are hated and feared. A term in the *kalabus* is certainly not courted, although the extent to which it serves as a deterrent to crime is difficult to decide. Fear of hanging, the punishment for serious crime, is very great. The Kwoma constantly said that they would not fear to die by police rifles, but that hanging was horrible. They constantly revert to the subject in their discussions of the dangers involved in undertaking head-hunting raids at the present time. It is definitely linked in their thought with what the Government has told them are outlawed practices.

The decline in the authority of the elders has been hastened by the return of indentured laborers to their villages and the impact of their new knowledge, experience, and techniques on village life. These youths, better schooled than their elders in the codes of the new society, have been well called "bumptious, head-swollen, and arrogant." Even though—or possibly because—many are still uninitiated, they hold the old taboos in contempt and introduce a disquieting influence into the old life. Since they are the ones from whose ranks the Government chooses village functionaries, the break with the past acquires official sanction. What

⁹⁸ Melanesian pidgin term for prisoner; it may also mean the prison, or imprisonment.

Bateson⁹⁹ calls the "lawless state" of the rising generation may well be owing to the decay of tribal institutions, but new codes are slowly building to replace the control formerly exercised by the latter. Village officials know their duties—keeping the peace, maintaining roads, providing carriers for government officials, and the like—and the constant support which they receive from the Government is gradually bringing to their offices a measure of prestige. "Hat men" in some districts even think of themselves as a group apart from the common people. Among the Manus, for example, if a *boi i gat hat* dies, all of the other "hat men" observe some little mourning taboo, such as giving up "Capatan" tobacco for a period. In this society also, we hear of important *luluais* who occasionally give feasts after the white man's fashion, with cutlery, tablecloths, flowers, rice, and tinned meat.¹⁰⁰

It is not unlikely that the growing importance of village officialdom may produce the basis of a new class stratification in New Guinea society. Among groups who were socially stratified in aboriginal times, as in Buka and Bougainville, it is said¹⁰¹ that "... modern conditions accelerate the process of disintegration of the aristocratic order. The great number of youths recruited for labour in the plantations return home with a new kind of prestige derived from individual possession of European money with its wide range of convertibility (and withhold it as far as possible from their relatives and chiefs by all kinds of tricks), from their knowledge of new devices, and personal relations with the white man." The white Government speeds the break-up of the older order by appointing village officials who are not of the higher class.¹⁰²

We may mention finally the decline in the power of secret societies as instruments of social control. This has progressed so far that now they are hardly more than ceremonial societies. The Government forbids the carrying of weapons in tribal dances and prohibits dances which might incite the participants to follow them with the ancient blood sports. They are told to go out and kill pigs in place of men.

(c) *Effects on the Family Institution and Social Relations.* In the process of acculturation, purely social features of aboriginal life are usually the last to be affected by alien contact. This is certainly true in New Guinea. The Government does try to prevent such practices as abor-

⁹⁹ G. Bateson, "Social Structure of the Iatmul People," *Oceania*, Vol. 2 (1931-32), p. 274.

¹⁰⁰ M. Mead, *Growing up in New Guinea*, pp. 303-304.

¹⁰¹ R. Thurnwald, "Pigs and Currency in Buin," *Oceania*, Vol. 5 (1934-35), p. 134.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, pp. 127-128; B. Blackwood, *Both Sides of Buka Passage*, pp. 48-49.

tion, infanticide, prostitution, and adultery, while the missions combat polygyny and promiscuity, but, for the most part, those changes which have occurred in family and sib relationships have been caused by previous alterations in the introduced and emergent institutions of the commissariat and control.

If the sexual problems of the boys away at work are serious, so also are those of the sweethearts and wives they leave behind. Deprived of their lawful sex-partners, the women indulge in random love-affairs with the men who remain in the village. An extreme example of this type of maladjustment came to my attention on the Lower Sepik River. A group of women of a village from which almost three-fourths of the able-bodied men had been recruited appeared before the Assistant District Officer at Angoram to "make court." They accused the *tultul* of neglecting his duties by refusing to have intercourse with them. They argued that since the Government had sanctioned the recruitment of their men, it was up to this village official appointed by the Government to keep them sexually satisfied. The *tultul*, speaking in his own behalf, wailed that he had done his best, but that he had reached his limit. "*Mi lez long pushpush,*" he cried, "*baimbai sakin bilong mi i lus finis.*"¹⁰³

Extra-marital sexual relations did not everywhere justify the murder of the culprits in pre-European times. Where this was the case, however, the Government now denies the former right and settles the difficulty by fines and imprisonment. The sanctions are comparatively so mild at the present time that the whole marriage institution is in an advanced state of change.

In the broader sphere of village life, the patterns of individual advancement have been adapted to the new conditions. Buka boys, for example, who formerly were kept in seclusion for a year at the time of initiation, are now confined for a period of only three months. This change was made necessary by the frequent census- and tax-patrols of the white Administration.¹⁰⁴ These people do not allow their youths to become indentured laborers until they have passed through the puberty rituals. In other tribes, however, boys frequently remain technically outside the adult group long after manhood, in the physical sense, has been reached, because of their absence during initiation ceremonies.

¹⁰³ Translation: "I am tired of intercourse. Soon my skin will become completely loose" (i.e., he would become a physical wreck).

¹⁰⁴ B. Blackwood, *op. cit.*, p. 197.

Since the men are the leaders and main participants in ceremonial life, their absence in labor lines far from the villages seriously interrupts the traditional ritual cycle. The number of participants is one of the most important criteria determining the success or failure of a ceremonial affair; therefore, where five to forty percent of the males are absent there is no great incentive to carry on poorly attended feasts.

NOTE: *The effects of culture contact on aboriginal religious institutions have been discussed in the section above dealing with the missions.*

TREND AND OUTLOOK

The ultimate justification of all sociological study lies in the hope that it may eventually enable us to prophesy with fair accuracy and hence control the future course of societal evolution. From a thorough analysis of known facts and their inter-relationships, as revealed by the methods of science, it is assumed that some day we shall be able to project our knowledge into the future, and thus implement man in the rational guidance of his own destiny.

But at the present time, the sociological facts at our disposal are so unsystematized that all conclusions must be couched in the most general of terms. Even when we speak of broad "trends" in the cultural development of a single society, we remain painfully aware of their lack of specificity. Nevertheless, the attempt is worth making.

Scanning the material already presented in this volume—through a wide-angle lens as it were—we can perceive certain lines of development along which New Guinea society seems destined to move in the future. In the welter of new forces unleashed by the impact of culture on culture certain novel configurations, the product of this impact, appear to be acquiring both firm shape and stability. It is necessary to state at the outset that these conclusions are based only on what has occurred thus far in the history of acculturation in New Guinea. Future cataclysmic events may indeed skew the several trends now evident, a few of them being: a sharp break in the price of copra, the discovery of extensive oil deposits in the Territory, a marked revival of business prosperity in Australia, important political changes incident to international war in the Pacific.

If no such unforeseen occurrences eventuate, however, we may expect to witness a steady progression of the following already established trends:

(1) *Rapid extension of the Government's influence over, and European contacts with, peoples still living under purely aboriginal conditions.*

By means of the aeroplane and large patrols the last remaining blanks on the map of New Guinea are rapidly being filled in, and the area declared uncontrolled is steadily dwindling in size. If European enterprise penetrates these healthy hinterland areas—as now seems highly probable—the last remaining peoples of a neolithic culture will soon be participating in the complex life of modern New Guinea.

(2) *Increasing demand on the part of European employers for native labor.* The normal life of a coconut tree is sixty years; therefore, since most of the plantations in New Guinea have not yet reached full maturity, the need for plantation labor will continue to increase. Furthermore, each year sees an extension of the area under cultivation, and as these new plantings come into bearing they too will require constant attention. Other forms of agricultural enterprise, now starting, will also make increasing demands on the native labor supply.

In the field of mining, unless new strikes are made, we may expect that the demand for labor will gradually decrease. As individual employers exhaust their present claims, the smaller labor lines will be discharged. The larger companies have a life expectancy of fifteen years, at least, on their present grounds. Their need for labor will remain relatively constant for that period.

One possibility which would upset these conclusions is the importation of coolie labor from Asia. More and more of the private employers in New Guinea are coming to believe that this would solve the labor problems of the Territory. Unless the "White Australia" policy of the Commonwealth Government loses strength, however, this development seems hardly probable.

(3) *Increasing dependence of the native on the European economic system.* Very few New Guinea natives (except those serving under indenture) are actually dependent on the European economy for their subsistence. All who have had contact with Europeans, however, have accepted new standards of living, in which European materials and techniques play a basic part. A whole generation is now arising which is thoroughly conditioned to articles of European material culture. The old arts and crafts are rapidly declining. The demands of the "tourist trade" may check the virtual extinction of some of the old skills, but the manufacturers at present are sophisticated and commercialized.

Witness to the increased dependence of the native is the decline in the number of professional labor recruiters. Only ten individuals are today

engaged solely in this pursuit, the smallest number since the turn of the century. Natives now seek employment on their own initiative instead of waiting in their villages for the recruiter. Furthermore, the length of the period of employment is increasing; more and more natives are signing on for second and third terms of service.

Another corollary of this conclusion is that casual labor will increase in amount and in popularity with natives as time goes on. The benefits of higher wages and freedom from contract are beginning to be appreciated by native laborers in the centers of employment. As in so many other instances, this pattern will be diffused widely throughout the Territory as time passes.

(4) *Further elaboration and standardization of the codes of lower caste behavior.* As interdependence between the two castes increases, new codes (and probably laws) will be required by the ruling caste to regulate the increasingly complex social relations of the two groups and to stress the distinctions between them. So long as the British retain their economic interest and political control in the Territory, the natives seem destined to remain a submerged majority. There is little probability of a half-caste group arising through miscegenation, for the demands of the white codes together with the large number of European women in the Territory will successfully inhibit any extensive race mixture.

(5) *Development of social classes within the lower caste.* Germs of this development are already apparent in the superior status of certain occupational groups among the native laborers. Police boys and personal servants, for example, being most intimately associated with white men, are distinctly "upper class" within their caste. Village officials are also coming to enjoy more than ordinary prestige and might be ranked almost as high as the two groups just mentioned. It is important to note, however, that their status comes from their knowledge of the *kanaka* culture, not from prescience in the folkways of the aboriginal order. We find also that within the great masses of common native laborers—the middle class—boss boys, mission teachers, and certain semi-skilled workers are gaining rank. At the bottom of the class ladder today are the free villagers and bush *kanakas* of the hinterland regions, who are definitely assigned to a lower class. No matter how great a hunter, dancer, or sorcerer a man may be, if he clings tenaciously to tribal ways and speaks no pidgin he remains a nonentity in the new society. Even the youngest *monki bilong binatang* can contradict him.

Certain specific factors—intimacy with Europeans, skill, wealth, and education—are going to play a part in determining the class lines of the new society. The proportional weight of influence of these factors remains still to be decided.

(6) *Increasing participation of native women in the new social order.* Few signs of such a trend have yet appeared in New Guinea, the exceptions being among natives at mission stations (where higher canons of morality are mandatory) and among the wives of the native police. If we look at the history of Bantu-European contact in South Africa, however, we may observe a trend similar to the one we are predicting. For many years the Bantu who worked for Europeans left their women at home. Shortly after the War of 1914-18, however, women began to accompany their husbands to European towns, and in a very short space of time the movement assumed huge proportions. When the tide turns in New Guinea, we may expect a comparable movement.

* * *

Many well-meaning commentators on the contact of high and low civilizations bemoan the passing of aboriginal cultures. Fastening their mournful gaze exclusively upon the destructive aspects of the acculturation process, they sympathize strongly with the older generation of natives, whose lives have been shattered even if their health has been improved. These writers are wont to contrast what they conceive to be the glamor and high excitement of life in the old days with what seems the controlled monotony of the new order.

Balanced observation of the history of contact in New Guinea allows no such one-sided conclusion. Admittedly, much of the old culture is rapidly disappearing, but this is a condition to which the younger generation is becoming accustomed from birth. Intelligent control of the acculturation process in this country has made the transition from the old to the new immeasurably less violent than in many another region of the world. The New Guinea native has profited from it in a variety of ways—in a greater sense of security, in better health, in a steadier diet. Whether or not he is a happier individual than his father or grandfather we cannot know.

APPENDIX I

THE LANGUAGE ADJUSTMENT: MELANESIAN PIDGIN¹

The occurrence and growth of a pidgin language among the natives of New Guinea is not only a result of the historic contacts between natives and Europeans, it is also a potent factor in effecting further changes in the aboriginal and composite cultures at the present time. It merits special attention from the sociological point of view as a striking example of unplanned, automatic adjustment in this culture contact situation; and, furthermore, it has become a primary instrumentality for carrying the contact process—with all that this implies—into an ever-increasing number of native communities.

¹ The transliteration of Melanesian pidgin into English characters in this section conforms to the following orthography.

Vowel and Diphthong

i
ĩ
e
ě
u
o
a
au
oi
ai

Vowel sound as in English

fee
fit
bay
bet
boot
boat
bar
now
boy
die

Consonants have, in general, the same values as in English. Accent has not been shown. It is regularly placed, however, on the first syllable; and in compound polysyllabic words the final syllable or the appended word ordinarily receives secondary stress—for example:

m'ɔnɪŋt,aim
h'aisim,apim

(forenoon)
(to raise, hang)

The language has, as yet, no fixed phonetic structure properly its own. In each linguistic area or district of the Territory, it is spoken in accordance with the phonetic system of the local native speech. Phonetic differences are immediately apparent as one travels through the districts, but none is so great that words spoken in accordance with the simple orthography given above cannot be understood by the average speaker of Melanesian pidgin.

"Language," says Sapir,² "is a system of phonetic symbols for the expression of communicable thought and feeling." Its use as a medium of intercommunication depends on the roughly similar values in thought and feeling which are associated with particular speech sounds. In view of the recognized intimacy of the association which exists between language and culture, we may expect to find in Melanesian pidgin clues of a deeper understanding of problems of culture contact and change in New Guinea societies. It must not be forgotten, however, that although Melanesian pidgin fits Sapir's minimum definition of language, it nevertheless remains in virtually every case a secondary language.

Why it is that members of dominant groups in culture contact situations, even when far outnumbered by the subjugated groups, have generally failed to adopt the language of the latter is a problem whose ultimate solution lies outside the limits of the present study. In New Guinea, however, where this has also occurred, we may isolate certain factors which have both impeded the adoption of native vernaculars and have favored the growth of a *lingua franca* such as Melanesian pidgin.

A condition of basic importance which has faced both natives and Europeans is the enormous diversity in native languages and dialects. It is obvious that traders dealing sporadically with divers peoples who speak many discrete languages, and employers of native labor which is recruited from several linguistic districts, could not be expected to learn dozens of separate tongues. Their relations with the natives, furthermore, have been limited for most of them to trading or plantation activities. A partial explanation of the growth of Melanesian pidgin is to be found, therefore, in the justifiable failure of the whites, as a group, to learn and use a native speech where none was recognized supreme. With the exception of missionaries and, perhaps, government officials, the Europeans who have entered this country have been interested above all in its economic exploitation. To undertake the difficult task of learning one or several completely new languages would consume time which could otherwise be more profitably spent.³ Europeans, the British especially, have often been accused of being too lazy to learn a native tongue. However, in the absence of any lasting attachments to the country, such a class as that of the white entrepreneur has little incentive to learn more of a native language than might be used on occasion to flatter the vanity of the group whose labors it is engaged in exploiting. "It must be accepted as final that, speaking at large, (the

² E. Sapir, "Language," *Encyclopaedia of the Social Science*, Vol. 9, p. 155.

³ Concerning the language problem in Papua, F. E. Williams has written: "In our own territory there is no doubt that the missionaries are the linguists; with the vast majority of the other Europeans knowledge of the native languages is beneath contempt." See his *Native Education*, p. 7.

white man) will not make himself master of the vernacular."⁴ The recent official adoption of pidgin as the language of religious and secular communication by the largest Catholic mission of Northeast New Guinea is a commentary on the difficulties of using native tongues as well as on the adequacy of this new speech.

As was implied above, the natives themselves are in no better position to learn the multiple dialects of the Territory. And, furthermore, the introduction of new objects, utensils, and tools and the creation of novel social relationships by the newcomers are factors calling for new terms and vocabulary. This is not to say that natives are incapable of coining new words of their own for strange elements. On the contrary, long lists of native terms for "white man," for example, have been gathered from many linguistic areas proving that novelties have been and can be given verbal expression by the aborigines in their own tongues.⁵ Other terms and related concepts are purposely introduced by the white authorities: e.g., *luluai* and *tultul*, denoting native agents of the administrations. Natives hearing them for the first time must be instructed in their meanings.

A final factor which inhibits the learning of native languages among Europeans and fosters the continued spread of pidgin is the ethnocentrism of the ruling caste. This reflects the obverse—positive—side of European "laziness." A general belief that the culture and language of the subject peoples are "low," "inferior," and to be dismissed as worthless has restrained Europeans from jeopardizing their status by using the lower caste's native tongues. No distinctions are drawn between language, race, and culture. In the light of this and the other factors enumerated above, we must accept the conclusion of Williams⁶ that "... at present the means of communication (in Papua and New Guinea) are pidgin Motu, pidgin English, telepathy, and swearing."

ORIGINS OF MELANESIAN PIDGIN

The *lingua franca* of the Mandated Territory is commonly known as pidgin English.⁷ This is not the happiest choice of term, for it too fre-

⁴ F. E. Williams, *The Blending of Cultures*, p. 30.

⁵ The writer was privileged to view such a list compiled by Gordon Thomas, Esq., of Rabaul. Mr. Thomas's interest in Melanesian pidgin has extended over the entire twenty-five year period during which he has resided in the Territory.

⁶ F. E. Williams, in a speech before the Seminar Conference on Education in Pacific Countries, Honolulu, 1936, quoted in J. E. Reinecke, *Marginal Languages*, (Doctoral dissertation, Yale University, New Haven, 1937. In MS.) p. 747.

⁷ *Webster's New International Dictionary of the English Language* defines *pidgin*, or *pigeon*, English as "the jargon, mainly of English words (often corrupted) arranged after Chinese syntax, used as a lingua franca between foreigners and Chinese. Sometimes, any similar jargon."

quently connotes to the average person merely a simplified or "babuized" English without recognition of the part other languages have played in its formation. Another name for the speech is "Beach-la-mar"—derived from the French for the sea-slug (*kolothurioidea*) *bêche-de-mer*, the marine product purchased by early white traders in the South Seas and sold in the Chinese market. Thus the jargon of trade was identified with one of the first articles of commerce to attract foreigners into this region. Reinecke,⁸ in his classification of marginal languages, lists Beach-la-mar along with other trade jargons which have appeared in remote corners of the world wherever makeshift means of communication have been found necessary to carry on business. Thus he finds Russenorsk; "Mocks-Mocksie," or bush Negro-English; the Eskimo trade jargon of Herschel's Island; pidgin Motuan of Papua; pidgin Assamese; pidgin Swahili of Uganda; Creole English of the West Indies; and Cantonese pidgin English—all serving similar purposes. "Generally speaking," says Reinecke,⁹ "Beach-la-mar is the *lingua franca* of British, French, Australian, and Mandated Oceania between the meridians 140° and 180° East and between the Equator and the Tropic of Capricorn."

The pidgin of New Guinea, however, is a sub-type of Beach-la-mar and is here to be distinguished as such. Other contacts than those trading relationships established by sea-slug collectors have been responsible for its coming into being and growing; and the plantations and stations of Europeans rather than the decks of trading schooners have served as the kindergartens of this new tongue. As a result, the mold of this speech has had a different form from that of other parts of Oceania.¹⁰ An observing Britisher,¹¹ long resident in the South Seas, has said ". . . in the British Solomon Islands the 'pidgin' is far purer English than our own particular brand in this Territory. As with the Papuans you can address a Solomon Island work boy in the vernacular of Picadilly or Potts Point, and, in nine cases out of ten, he will understand your meaning. Further south, in the New Hebrides, there creep into the 'pidgin' certain French words . . ."

In view of the inadequacy of the term "pidgin English," and with the variations of Beach-la-mar in mind, it seems advisable that we seek a distinctive name for the *lingua franca* peculiar to the Mandated Territory. Dr. Hans Nevermann has given us such—"Melanesian pidgin"—in a brief but

⁸ J. E. Reinecke, *Marginal Languages*, pp. 65-66.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 727.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 67. Reinecke does note the existence of subtypes of the pidgin within Beach-la-mar. For his purposes, however, he need not draw the finer distinctions which exist between dialectal varieties of any given jargon.

¹¹ Gordon Thomas, editorial in the *Rabaul Times*, No. 308, March 13, 1931.

scholarly study,¹² and this is the term that will be used henceforth in this section when referring to this language.

In seeking after the proximate origins of Melanesian pidgin we are faced with an understandable dearth of early texts or records. Those first traders, recruiters, and missionaries who gave it its start and assisted in its diffusion were scarcely aware of its existence. By the time writers of scholarly bent realized that Melanesian pidgin was a language, simple and crude though it be, most information with respect to its beginnings had been lost or forgotten.¹³

The existing evidence points to the English-owned plantations in Queensland, Fiji, and Samoa of the last quarter of the nineteenth century as the scenes of Melanesian pidgin's birth.¹⁴ Until the diminishing labor supply from the New Hebrides and Solomon Islands drove recruiters farther afield, New Guinea had remained outside the sphere of operations of the notorious blackbird. In the three-year period immediately prior to German annexation of the Bismarck Archipelago and Northeast New Guinea, however, more than 2,000 recruits had been transported therefrom to overseas plantations.¹⁵ When these young men were returned to their homes they brought with them the rudiments of the speech adjustments which they had been forced to make in their strange surroundings. These rudiments were not forgotten, however, even after they had settled back into the routine life

¹² H. Nevermann, "Das Melanesische Pidgin-English," *Englische Studien*, Vol. 63 (1928-29) pp. 252-258.

¹³ A bizarre theory current today among certain uninformed British residents in the Territory is that Melanesian pidgin was purposely invented and introduced by the Germans in order that they might speak before natives in their own tongue without being understood. Natives, however, are still met who can speak German as taught them by missionaries. Further disproof of this theory is obvious in even a casual examination of the nature of the pidgin: the changes which it is even now undergoing speak clearly for its automatic growth.

This faulty supposition is worthy of mention only because it highlights one of the attitudes of the whites toward the natives. It reveals an emotionally based opposition to allowing natives access to European culture through the medium of a common (European) speech.

William Churchill, in his monograph *Beach-la-mar*, has advanced another thesis concerning the origins of pidgin in the South Seas. He believes that American whalemens who touched at South Sea islands for rest and replenishment of supplies left with the natives a first smattering of English words and phrases which became the basis of Beach-la-mar. It remained for collectors, traders, and recruiters to furnish added stimuli for the creation of the new tongue. While this was undoubtedly the case in other parts of Oceania, New Guinea—especially those parts of it with which we are dealing—was never a popular rendezvous of whaling ships; nor had this region any rich stands of sandalwood to lure dealers in that commodity. There are scarcely more than a half-dozen references to whalers who visited our part of New Guinea in Wichmann's authoritative *Entdeckungsgeschichte von Neu-Guinea*.

¹⁴ J. E. Reinecke, *Marginal Languages*, p. 727.

¹⁵ H. Schneider, *Die Einwanderung Farbiger Rassen nach Australien*, pp. 34-35.

of their native villages. Cayley-Webster,¹⁶ writing in 1898, remarks on his astonishment during his earlier visit to the territory on finding so many natives speaking "English." On inquiring he found that most had worked on Queensland and Fijian plantations. He says, "They could not have worked for Englishmen since 1884 . . . and yet they still retained their knowledge of the language."¹⁷

It goes without saying that the new vocabulary and speech forms could not be expected to survive and grow among native groups without some form of external stimulus. This was found in the need for a common speech between natives and whites in all their dealings, but particularly in their economic relations. The introduction of new material things and the creation of novel life conditions in the areas adjoining white settlements constantly reinforced the use of those primitive speech adjustments first made in Queensland. The extension of European trading operations and the steady increase in the number of natives employed by Europeans not only kept alive the new tongue but also spread it over wider areas. Furthermore, peace as well as trade generally followed the flag in New Guinea; and natives from different linguistic and cultural areas, whose peaceful intercourse had formerly been inhibited by the dual disability of lack of a common language and inter-tribal hostility, could now meet and haggle over their exchanges in the novel medium of Melanesian pidgin. The German trader-consul at Matupi, F. Hertsheim, in a letter¹⁸ written in 1880, says, "In New Britain where about seven years before not a native understood a European language, this sort of English [Melanesian pidgin] is now spoken by everyone, especially by the children; some speak it with considerable fluency. Already there are natives who use these idioms among themselves in speaking of the whites or things pertaining to them." This statement needs some qualification, for by "New Britain" Hertsheim can mean only the Blanche Bay region of that island at most; the rest was *terra incognita* at this time. Also, we must accept with reservations this observer's remark that "everyone" spoke pidgin.

Credit for fostering the growth and diffusion of Melanesian pidgin must be assigned not only to those whites who failed to teach the natives English or to adopt local speech forms themselves, but also to the missions. Plans

¹⁶ H. Cayley-Webster, *Through New Guinea and other Cannibal Countries*, pp. 280-290.

¹⁷ Another striking instance of the tenacity of a native group's memory is cited by Otto Finsch. On his first voyage along the Northeastern New Guinea coast he stopped at Bongu village, Astrolabe Bay, the place where Michluko-Maclay, Russian explorer and scientist, had spent more than a year in 1871-72. Twelve years later when Finsch met the Bongu natives he heard them using approximations of the Russian words for "iron," "axe," "knife," "hatchet," "soup," and the like, although the terms were used indiscriminately to describe white men's goods. (*See Samoafahrten*, p. 62.)

¹⁸ Quoted by J. E. Reinecke, *Marginal Languages*, p. 738.

of missionaries for Christianizing the entire native population were seriously impeded by the enormous diversity in the native tongues. In church-mission usage, therefore, the dictates of necessity outweighed the conventional lack of dignity of jargons. Individual missionaries, it is true, learned native languages in order to achieve better understanding of the cultures with which they had to deal; they also saw in this a way to make easier the path to native comprehension of the Gospel. The Revs. Brown and Danks of the Australian Methodist Mission, Hanselmann of the American Lutheran Mission, and Fathers Rascher of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, Keysser of the Neudetellsau, and Kirschbaum of the Mission of the Divine Word—all devoted no small amount of time to linguistic studies. Yet even such conscientious scholars as they had to introduce many European words into native speech for such novel concepts as "hope," "love," "mercy," "grace," "God," "conscience," and "thankfulness" in their Christian sense.¹⁹ Another condition forcing the missions to rely on a substitutive language was inherent in the exigencies of their work. If factors arose making it advisable that a mission station be moved into some new and strange linguistic province, any previous work on language would be for naught. The American Lutherans of Madang District have experienced such a problem. Even after twenty years of attempting to make the *Ragetta* dialect of Astrolabe Bay the medium of instruction and standard speech throughout the district, a missionary confesses that he still must depend on pidgin outside those communities which have *Ragetta* as their mother tongue.²⁰ The Mission of the Divine Word (Catholic), of Northeast New Guinea, has finally capitulated to Melanesian pidgin, using it entirely in both oral and written instruction.

Three main courses were open to the territorial administrations with respect to the language problem. They could (a) teach the natives their European language; (b) adopt a native speech as a *lingua franca* and teach it; or (c) accept frankly the local pidgin, attempt to purify it, and give it official status. Actually, no one of these alternatives has been adopted and carried through in its entirety. The expense of the first course would have been too great for either the German or Australian administrations

¹⁹ In her suggestive article on Melanesian pidgin, Dr. Mead has noted that the gentle doctrines of Christianity suffer in the change to such a vigorous and abrupt medium as Melanesian pidgin. The word *mele*, cited as example, was introduced by missionaries to cover the meaning "mercy," in the sense of Christian gladness. But this has failed to express native attitudes toward *lotu* (the Christian church institution) and native concepts of what Christianity teaches so clearly as such oft-heard pidgin phrases as: *Baimbai yu dai yu go long faiya* (When you die you will burn in Hell), and *Yesus i laik kukim yu*. Pidgin is not a language for philosophical dialectics. (See M. Mead, "Talk-Boy," *Asia*, Vol. 31 (March, 1931) p. 150.)

²⁰ R. Hanselmann, *In the Jungles of New Guinea*, p. 40.

to bear. Moreover, as we have seen, there is a body of opinion which objects strongly to the thought of natives being taught a European language. The second alternative, adoption of a native tongue as a common speech, would be almost as expensive; it also suffers from the factors mentioned above: multiplicity of native tongues and white lethargy. The most widely spoken dialect in the Territory, that of the people in the Blanche Bay region, is known to less than one-twentieth of the total population. Thirty-thousand natives at most speak this tongue; so approximately 475,000 natives and all but a handful of whites would have to learn it.²¹ The third possibility, official acceptance and support of Melanesian pidgin, has behind it the logic of its daily use—by government officers, planters, recruiters, and missionaries, and by all those natives with whom Europeans have dealings of whatever kind. All that is needed is government sanction (to enable the taking of legal evidence in this medium) and a program of teaching to control the growth and purification of the language. That pidgin is not an official language is no real hindrance to its continuing existence; it remains so vital an adjustment because no other language is available to unite an intensely fragmented, very primitive population whose dealings with Europeans are still on so relatively simple a basis. We may agree with Nevermann²² that Melanesian pidgin is quite suitable to the native's imagination and daily needs, and that it fulfills its purpose as well as do other mixed languages. This is true for both the indentured *kanaka* and the native villager in their dealings with Europeans under conditions of today.²³ But it does not mean that Melanesian pidgin is as rich in content as even the simplest native tongue; it may not be substituted *in toto* for any native language without serious impairments to the culture. The finer distinctions of kinship behavior, for instance, can be but crudely stated in pidgin unless tedious circumlocutions are employed. Similarly, the division of all beings and powers in the supernatural realm of any native culture into the two pidgin categories of *tambaran* (ghosts of the dead) and *marsalai* (spirits) robs native religious beliefs of many shades of meaning.

THE STRUCTURE OF MELANESIAN PIDGIN

The vocabulary of Melanesian pidgin consists of loan words from many different languages, native and European, used in a grammatical system that

²¹ *Report to the Council of the League of Nations* (1936), pp. 104.

²² H. Nevermann, "Das Melanesische Pidgin-English," *Englische Studien*, Vol. 63 (1928-29) p. 258.

²³ But note Hogbin's conclusion: "I am convinced that more than half of the troubles between natives and their employers is caused by linguistic misunderstandings arising from faulty pidgin." (H. I. Hogbin, *Experiments in Civilization*, p. 163, note.) Dr. Hogbin's long study of and thorough familiarity with pidgin in New Guinea and the Solomon Islands makes authoritative any statement of his on the subject.

is basically Melanesian. An analysis of this case of linguistic syncretism, therefore, may be expected to shed light on the respective contributions of different cultural groups in the composition of the speech while at the same time uncovering those constituent elements which give it an individuality of its own.

English and Blanche Bay Melanesian are the two languages which have been of foremost importance in the evolution of the speech. The vocabulary of pidgin is English or, more specifically, of English derivation while the basic grammatical structure corresponds to the general Melanesian pattern.²⁴

In a vocabulary analysis, mention must first be made of that class of words common to Beach-la-mar and Australasian English before the settlement of New Guinea. Certain words and phrases had so wide a distribution in Pacific trade jargons of early days that their origins can only be surmised. A list of such words would include, among others, the following:

PIDGIN	ENGLISH	USE OR MEANING
<i>baimbai</i>	by and by	(adverb of future time)
<i>bilang</i>	belong	(preposition denoting possession)
<i>fëla</i>	fellow	(the article)
<i>geman</i>	gammon (?)	no good, deceitful
<i>maski</i>	?	never mind
<i>piḱaninĩ</i>	pickaninny	child, the young

The Polynesian *kanaka* (native man) and *kaikai* (food) also belong to this list of Beach-la-mar words which were incorporated into Melanesian pidgin.

The individuality of this language may be attributed not only to its Melanesian structure, but also to the large number of its loan words taken directly from the Blanche Bay dialect. Words stemming from that speech which now enjoy Territory-wide acceptance in pidgin include:

<i>baira</i>	hoe
<i>balus</i>	pigeon
<i>bembe</i>	butterfly
<i>biruwa</i>	enemy
<i>bung</i>	market

²⁴ Jespersen denies that the grammar of Beach-la-mar may be called Melanesian. He regards it as simply a minimal structure necessary in any makeshift language or jargon. (See O. Jespersen, *Language*, p. 225.) But, as Reinecke (*Marginal Languages*, p. 752) well points out, "... he overlooks the fact that Beach-la-mar has a different *Sprachegeist* than Cantonese-pidgin or the pidgin of West Africa. This individuality must be attributed to the Melanesian linguistic structure."

<i>bui</i>	areca nut
<i>diwai</i>	tree
<i>karamut</i>	wooden gong
<i>kulau</i>	unripe coconut
<i>kuria</i>	earth tremor
<i>kwalip</i>	edible nut
<i>liklik</i>	small
<i>luluai</i>	war leader
<i>meri</i>	woman
<i>marimari</i>	to care for
<i>marsalai</i>	evil spirit
<i>pato</i>	duck
<i>pipia</i>	rubbish
<i>pukpuk</i>	crocodile
<i>purpur</i>	flower
<i>tambaran</i>	ghost
<i>ubian</i>	fish net

The above list could be extended considerably, but enough has been given to show that native speech has not been submerged even in the matter of vocabulary. No other local tongue has contributed more than a few words to the pidgin. This is readily accounted for on the basis of the longer and more intimate contacts of Europeans and natives of Blanche Bay—the oldest European settlement in the Territory—especially during the earlier years when the speech was taking form. When German enterprise on the mainland needed labor, boys from Blanche Bay were recruited and carried with them their own re-interpretations of European speech.

German colonials contributed surprisingly little of their own language to the vocabulary of this pidgin, although they used it universally in conversing with natives. This may be taken to indicate that pidgin had achieved, by the time of German annexation, a sufficient vocabulary for expressing most of the needs and commands used in the indentured labor relation. We must not overlook the fact that even during the days of the German Protectorate English-speaking whites made up a significant proportion of the European population.

Of German loan words one may still hear, the universal *raus* (go! get out!), which derives from *heraus*, is by far the most common.²⁵ Other carryovers are:

²⁵ Count von Pfeil has implied the universal importance of this word in the astute comment, "Dem Kanaken macht nur der kategorische Imperativ Eindruck." (J. Pfeil, *Studien und Beobachtungen aus der Südsee*, p. 247.)

<i>betan</i>	pray
<i>bakabor</i>	port, naut.
<i>gris kat</i>	<i>Grüss Gott</i>
<i>gumi</i>	rubber
<i>halt mund</i>	shut up
<i>links</i>	left
<i>mark</i>	mark; now one shilling
<i>pasmalauf</i>	take care
<i>shutman</i>	policeman

Natives who have had contact with German missions speak of *pada* (*Pater*), and *baruda* (*Bruder*) in contradistinction to *papa* and *barata*, the common pidgin terms for "father" and "brother" respectively.²⁶

Nor did the Asiatics whom the Germans brought to New Guinea add greatly to the pidgin vocabulary. There are no Chinese borrowings listed as such in the *Pijin-Lexikon*,²⁷ the most complete dictionary of the language yet compiled. Malays, however, have added the following:

<i>karabau</i>	water-buffalo
<i>kapok</i>	the tree and its fibers
<i>klambu</i>	mosquito net
<i>krani</i>	clerk; any Malay
<i>mambu</i>	bamboo
<i>mandor</i>	overseer
<i>pinatang</i>	insect
<i>sayor</i>	leaf vegetable
<i>tandok</i>	signal
<i>tiang</i>	post

It may be, as Nevermann²⁸ suggests, that *savi* (to know) and *maski* (never mind) came to the New Guinea speech by way of Cantonese pidgin; they are virtually the only words common to these two jargons. But of this there is no direct evidence.

We find that *malolo* (a rest interval), *lotu* (the Christian religion), and *puzi* (cat) were introduced into pidgin by Samoan teachers brought to New Guinea by the Australian Methodist Mission.²⁹ Nevermann³⁰ also

²⁶ G. Thomas, editorial in the *Rabaul Times*, No. 308, March 13, 1931.

²⁷ *Pijin-Lexikon*, 101 pp., Published by the Mission of the Divine Word (Easter, 1935).

²⁸ H. Nevermann, "Das Melanesische Pidgin-English," *Englische Studien*, Vol. 63 (1928-29) p. 252.

²⁹ See G. Brown, *George Brown, D.D. Pioneer-Missionary and Explorer, An Auto-Biography* (London, 1908); and W. Deane, *In Wild New Britain: The Story of Benjamin Danks Pioneer Missionary* (Sydney, 1933).

³⁰ p. 252.

³⁰ H. Nevermann, "Das Melanesische Pidgin-English," *Englische Studien*, Vol. 63 (1928-

lists *puzi* as of Samoan origin, although its resemblance to the English "pussy," coupled with the fact that cats were not indigenous to Oceania, may raise doubts as to this derivation. Whatever the word's antecedents, however, its acceptance at Blanche Bay as *pusi* gave it a start on the way toward its Territory-wide acceptance.

The introduction of these few Samoan words briefly epitomizes a phase in the growth of the common language. These Polynesian teachers, whose position in New Guinea villages endowed them with special status, used their own speech-forms for introducing elements strange to the communities in which they were settled. Since native dialects contained no words for such concepts, there could be no choice or conflict. It is safe to assume that the Samoans continued to use Samoan terms for things in the New Guinea environment which were recognized. But here the already existing terms in the New Guinea languages were weighted against the innovations; such variations consequently could make no headway.

Rather than attempt to list all English words and phrases which have become a part of Melanesian pidgin, it will be of more value to show, by selected cases, how some of these loan words have undergone metathetic and semantic changes in their diffusion. From the English "back," for example, is derived the transitive pidgin verb *běķim*. Thus *běķim wanfēla mark long masta* means "to repay the white man with one shilling"; and *mi běķim šingaut bilong wanfēla man* means "I answer the person's call."

Similarly, from the English "bone" comes *bun* which by itself stands for "bone" or "skeleton." But *bun bilong nēķ* designates the Adam's apple; *bun nating* is adjectival and means "very thin" or "emaciated"; and *drai fēla bun* means "strong," "fearless."

The foregoing examples demonstrate a cardinal characteristic of Melanesian pidgin and other minimal languages, that is, their contextual nature. By this is meant that a word may have any one of several meanings depending upon its position or the use of special modifiers with it. An unabridged pidgin dictionary must list not alone the fragmented words, but all phrases in which the particular words are used. Phrases have distinctive meanings of their own which analyses of their component words often fail entirely to reveal. The word *haus* (English, "house") and its compounds will illustrate this point. In pidgin, *haus* means "dwelling," "building," "shelter," "room," "nest," or "family" according to its contextual position. Thus we have *haus bilong pijin* (bird's nest); *haus drai* (copra dryer); *haus drink* (pub); *haus kūķ* (kitchen); *haus lotu* (church); *haus meme* (goat's stall); *haus moni*

(bank)³¹; *haus pamok* (native house of prostitution); *haus sel* (tent); *haus šik* (hospital); and *wanhaus* (a sib).

The pidgin *dai* (English, "to die") has also undergone a curious change in the process of its diffusion. Although this is one of the standard examples of change in meaning which all English-speaking novices in pidgin are given, we were nevertheless startled when a Kwoma lad came running to our house one day shouting "Maurendi³² i dai nau!" Only after considerable cross examination were we satisfied that Maurendi had merely become suddenly very sick. It taught us that one may "die a little" (in pidgin), but yet recover, and that extinction of life is expressed only by the phrase *dai finis*.

The verb "to do" also has been given a novel twist in pidgin so that it connotes seeking for sexual favors. Thus *yu no kan do long disfela meri—em igat man* means "you cannot make advances toward this girl; she is already married."

The pidgin *hap*, from English "half," may be noun, adverb, adjective, or verb according to its context. However, in no instance does it necessarily signify one of two equal parts of a whole. Any fraction may be called *hap*, although the smallest portion of divisible objects or of time may be qualified by the adjective *liklik* (little). Thus *hap kaikai* means "a portion of food"; *hap tok*, "word"; and *liklik haptaim*, "a moment."

The English relationship terms, "sister" and "brother," have been adopted by pidgin-speaking natives, but to express their own concepts of kinship rather than ours. *Susa*, as they call "sister," means a sibling of the opposite sex; *barata* stands for a sibling of the same sex. Hence, girls who call their brothers *susa* and their sisters *barata* are not so stupid as some Europeans have supposed; they actually define, by English terms lacking precision, relationships which are more carefully distinguished in their own kinship terminologies.

Three pidgin verbs which show typical modifications in meaning when transposed from English are: "to lose" (which becomes "to forget"); "to sell" ("to give"); and "to find" ("to look for"). When a boy says "mi faindim,

³¹ A revealing instance of semantic change in this pidgin is connected with the term *haus moni*. Before the establishment of Australian branch banks in Rabaul, currency, including the proceeds of native taxes, was kept in strong boxes at the Administration's Treasury Building. This was known to natives speaking pidgin as the *haus moni*. When private banks were opened in their own buildings and when the *kanaka* learned that the public monies had been removed to them, the name *haus moni* was transferred likewise to the bank buildings. The Treasury Building, used from then on simply as a clerical office, was straightway dubbed *haus moni geman*, meaning in translation something like "the false bank," or "the bank that has no money." *Mark* is the regular pidgin term for coin currency, *moni* being used only in this phrase.

³² One of our house boys.

fainďim, fainďim—ēm i no stap," he is reporting his inability to locate that for which he is searching.

The cases cited above to show the nature of changes which have taken place when English words have been adopted into Melanesian pidgin are but a sample. One should not conclude, however, that all loan words have undergone such modification; but the tendency has been in that direction since, along with its minimal structure, pidgin has no rich written literature to act as a stabilizing force. Moreover, no native can be expected to have more than a very limited number of associations connected with his pidgin vocabulary. Words may only be defined in terms of related words and ideas; the pidgin-speaking *kanaka*, with a vocabulary containing few synonyms, lacks this equilibrating factor. We should not be surprised, then, if his lesser experience sometimes leads him into what appear to us as strange or quaint interpretations of foreign words and concepts.

Many have remarked on the paucity of the pidgin vocabulary and the necessity of extensive circumlocution in order to express relatively simple ideas. Nevermann,³³ for instance, cites three examples:

ENGLISH	MELANESIAN PIDGIN EQUIVALENT
half-moon	<i>smal fēla mun</i>
bed	<i>ples bilong slip</i>
to write	<i>putim mark long pepa</i>

Whatever has been the interval of time since these expressions were recorded, we find today that a closer approximation to English has been achieved in the pidgin terms *hap mun*, *bēt*, and *raitim*, all of which were heard in common use during 1936-37 by the author. These terms are in fact listed in the *Pijin-Lexikon*.

Circumlocutions are still necessary, it is true, but cases like those above show that the native is quick to adopt simpler modes of expression whenever he can borrow or invent them. As the language evolves further, we may expect that constant additions and simplifications of this sort will be made to its vocabulary.

From the question of vocabulary we may now turn to considerations of the language's phonology and grammar. Being learned by ear alone rather than with the aid of printed words, pidgin tends to approximate the phonetic system of the donor's speech. But the natives, schooled from childhood in

³³ H. Nevermann, "Das Melanesische Pidgin-English," *Englische Studien*, Vol. 63 (1928-29) p. 256. When these expressions were recorded is not mentioned. However, Nevermann worked with the notes of the Hamburg Scientific Expedition of 1908-11.

different phonetic milieux, cannot reproduce in every case the strange sounds of foreign speech patterns. The general phonology of known Melanesian and Papuan languages is: consonant-vowel-consonant-vowel-consonant-vowel. Double consonants in English words are thus split, as a rule, by vowels, as the following examples show.

ENGLISH	MELANESIAN PIDGIN
box	<i>boḵis</i>
dry	<i>darai</i>
fence	<i>paṇis (baṇis)</i>
frog	<i>pirok (birok)</i>
six	<i>siḵis</i>

Native languages themselves exhibit many differences in phonetics; so it is not surprising that such differences are carried over into pidgin. In the Kieta (East Bougainville) dialects, the consonant *r* replaces *d*, while in northern New Ireland final syllables are often elided. Thus in Kieta *dog* becomes *rog*, and in New Ireland a *boḵis* is called a *boḵ*.

In syntax-accidence this pidgin is generally Melanesian.³⁴ There is no inflection, declension, or conjugation; case and gender are absent; and there is neither number nor person except in pronominal forms. *Fēla* is used as an article before a substantive and corresponds to a similar part of speech in Melanesian tongues. Word order is subject-verb-predicate. Adjectives ordinarily precede, and adverbs follow, the words they modify. Prepositions are limited to two in number: *along* (or *long*) and *bilang*, which mean "to," "at," "toward," "on," "in," "as," "of," "from," and "with" according to the context.³⁵

Personal pronouns have neither gender nor case, but in addition to singular and plural number the Melanesian dual appears. This serves to distinguish we (two) exclusive of you, from we including you, which is plural. The accompanying paradigm gives the pronominal forms.

³⁴ J. E. Reinecke, *Marginal Languages*, pp. 750 ff.

³⁵ An aesthetic criticism frequently levelled at Melanesian pidgin concerns the monotonous nature of its sound. Much of the monotony derives from the constant repetition of the syllable *long*, as the following fragment of a pidgin text shows:

"Nau long taim mi stap Madang, mi walkabaut long rod. Mi walkabaut, baimbai mi kamap long haus marit bilang wanfēla man. Bifor diṣfēla man i wok long kamda, ěm i wanlain long mi. Nau mi lukim diṣfēla man i sindaum long graund long hapigo long haus." (Translation: "When I was in Madang I (once) took a walk down the road. I came shortly to the home of a married man. Formerly we were both employed by W. R. Carpenter & Co. in the same labor line. I saw him sitting on the ground toward the rear of his house . . .")

	SINGULAR	DUAL	PLURAL
1st person	<i>mi</i>	<i>mi tufĕla</i>	<i>mifĕla olugĕta</i> , or <i>yu mi</i>
2nd person	<i>yu</i>	<i>yu tufĕla</i>	<i>yufĕla olugĕta</i>
3rd person	<i>i</i> , or <i>em i</i>		<i>olugĕta</i> , or <i>olaman</i>

The interrogative pronouns are *husat* (who?), *wotnem* (what? which? why?), *wataim* (when?), and *wersat* (where?). Their English provenience is obvious.

Regarding verbs and their usage, we find that verbal particles serve as they do in Melanesian languages to denote past or future action. *Finis* is the particle denoting completed action in past time. *Mi hĭrim tok finis* says "I have heard (or, I understand) what has been said." The present tense requires no verbal particle to denote continuing action, but the adverb *nau* is often heard: *Olanan i fait nau* means "they are fighting." The historical present is invariably used in narration once the speaker has made clear to listeners when the action being described took place. To designate the future tense, the particle *baimbai* is employed with the verb: *baimbai ol i fait* means "they will fight." Adverbial modifiers may be used to fix the time more precisely.

The conditional tense is introduced by the verbal particle *sapos*. Apparently a direct adaptation from English, it has no equivalent in the Melanesian languages of the Bismarck Archipelago. *Sapos i ken, baimbai i kam* (if he is able, he will come) shows the use of the conditional. The phrase *mor bĕta*, appearing as a subjunctive equivalent, usually introduces the subjoined clause, as in *sapos God i ſingaut, mor bĕta yu hir* (if God should call you, you had best pay heed).

The final element of verb usage needing comment is the suffixation of *im* to distinguish transitive from intransitive forms. The intransitive *mi lain long rait* (I learn to write) becomes *mi lainim ola pĭkanĭni long rait* (I teach all the children to write) when the root-verb *lain* takes an object.

The system of enumeration in pidgin is a clear example of linguistic syncretism under the impact of culture contact. And we may also observe herein significant cultural adjustments by the natives toward European institutions of economics and finance. The cardinal numbers from one to ten are patently of English derivation: *wan*, *tu*, *tri*, *for*, *faif*, *ſikĭs*, *ſĕfĕn*, *et*, *nain*, and *tĕn*; but with numbers above ten, the native pattern of grouping numbers more frequently occurs. Thus eleven is *wanfela ten wan*, twelve *wanfela ten tu*, and so on to twenty, which is *tufĕla tĕn*. In mission schools one may hear youngsters reciting:

"tutaim tu i for	($2 \times 2 = 4$)
tritaim tri i nain	($3 \times 3 = 9$)
fortaim for i wan tĕn sikis"	($4 \times 4 = 16$)

and so on.

But as the employed natives now gradually learn the English cardinals up to twenty, the Melanesian pattern of enumeration is dropping out of pidgin. Since they are now paid their wages in currency, indentured laborers recognize the advantage of being able to deal with their employers in the latter's own terms and units. And despite their general satisfaction with the wages they receive, work boys show a keen interest in their financial standing. Younger boys who have not yet served a contract term prepare themselves for their future indenture by learning the newer pidgin system of counting before leaving home. We often heard younger boys among the Kwoma repeating over and over the English numbers, and we were constantly requested to coach them in the higher figures. They exhibited a dogged patience in this behavior which was quite out of keeping with the alleged native trait of laziness. They sought eagerly to learn against the day when they would "sign on" to white enterprises as their elder brothers had done before.

Another characteristic of pidgin structure which remains to be mentioned is reduplication. This is of two types: reduplication of syllables or single words for emphasis; and repetition of phrases in a story or running account for linkage. The reduplication of syllables for emphasis is of common occurrence in Malayo-Polynesian languages. In pidgin it appears not only in native words such as *laplap* (loin cloth), *lĭmlĭmbu* (vacation), *matmat* (burial ground), and *sak̄sak̄* (sago), but also in borrowings from English: *natnat* (mosquito), *pispis* (urine), *sĭngsĭng* (celebration), *sĭpsĭp* (sheep), *washwash* (bath), and *wiliwil* (bicycle). Action continued over a long period of time is stressed in narrative pidgin by repetition of the verb. For instance, in describing a memorable dance which lasted all night a Kwoma youth said, "Nufela mekim, mekim, mekim—baimbai tulait" (We danced and danced—till dawn). To indicate an especially long journey pidgin-speaking natives will say "Yu go-go-go-go-o-o-oh!"—the last *o* sound being drawn out to the end of the speaker's breath.

Repetition of phrases is occasionally heard in ordinary speech, but it becomes (to us) almost a vice in long narrations. Stories and harangues in pidgin may be said to take one step backward for every two forward. This method of narration serves not only to give the speaker time to compose his thoughts, it also helps to twist the conversational threads of his account into

a sturdy yarn. It has a traditional basis, no doubt, in the aboriginal patterns of prestige-bringing oratory.³⁶

No amount of quotation can convey to a reader the peculiar *Sprachgeist* of this tongue; for pidgin is a language which requires more than the most complete phonetic rendering to reproduce it. Facial demeanor, gesture, and tonal affects are of great importance to it. The sense of shock, then helplessness, which a European experiences when he is addressed for the first time by a native in pidgin on the telephone is due not only to the interruption of a conditioned habit pattern; it also underlines the vital importance of face-to-face communication when such a minimal language is employed.

The rapidity with which new words and phrases are introduced and new combinations are given novel meanings calls for tentative conclusions, at the most, by the student of this language. Its continual change makes even those Europeans who have used it longest hesitate to say that they "know the language." With variations appearing constantly in different parts of the Territory, it is obvious that no individual can keep abreast of its total evolution, let alone to know what variations will gain wide enough acceptance to become integral parts of the speech.

SIGNIFICANCE OF PIDGIN IN THE CONTACT SITUATION

"Language," says Sapir,³⁷ "is a great force of socialization, probably the greatest that exists." Having determined that Melanesian pidgin is a language, it remains only to analyze it as one of the determinative forces in this culture contact situation and to evaluate its services in the formation of a composite culture.

No figures exist to show the number out of the total enumerated native population of New Guinea who speak pidgin today. The official census as of June 30, 1936 (inclusive of indentured laborers) gives a total of 500,040 persons.³⁸ A conservative estimate of the number who speak the secondary language would be approximately 100,000, or one-fifth of the total population.³⁹ Another question on which we stand in need of verifica-

³⁶ Dr. Mead has said, "Melanesian languages very frequently use repetition to give an intensity of speech. . . . Although strictly speaking these repetitions should all have a function in expressing duration of intensity, very often the mere habit of repetition runs away with the narrator. . . ." (M. Mead, *Growing Up in New Guinea*, p. 36.)

³⁷ E. Sapir, "Language," *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*. Vol. 9, p. 159.

³⁸ *Report to the Council of the League of Nations* (1939), p. 137.

³⁹ This figure can be taken only as a rough approximation. It is based: first, on the assumption that all indentured natives learn to speak pidgin; second, on the native labor statistics since the inauguration of civil government by the Australians in 1921. The total number of contracts made between 1921 and 1936 has been 425,000, with five years as the average period of contract. Thus some 85,000 work boys have learned pidgin under the Australian regime alone. The number of natives who learned the

ble information concerns the percentage of women and girls who are acquainted with pidgin. The extremely few women who are indentured, or who accompany their husbands when the latter sign on, would seem to indicate that pidgin is essentially a language spoken by males. Perhaps it is, for the principle of sexual dichotomy in aboriginal cultures is far from defunct, even in areas of oldest contacts. However, no cases of conscious attempts to prevent women's learning of the language have come to my attention either in the field or in literature.⁴⁰

Pidgin has diffused to the women from two principal sources: the areas of white settlement and the missions. At large native markets, such as the Rabaul *bung*, which are conducted by the *meri*, those who do not speak pidgin are at a disadvantage when dealing with Europeans. And when women accompany their indentured husbands, serve as house girls themselves, or marry work boys who speak another language, they are forced to adjust by learning pidgin. The missionaries, more interested in the souls of natives than in their sex, are quite as willing to instruct women as men in the *tok bilong God*. Mission girls learn the same speech as do their husbands and brothers in the labor lines. If some of the oaths of deeper hue are neglected in their regular studies, such are soon picked up when they return to their villages.

The mastering of pidgin is a game when carried on in the village, a necessary task when undertaken on the plantation or other European station. When natives learn it at home, before going off to work for Europeans, the line of its transmission is from the older to the younger boys.⁴¹ The age-grade of the parental and grandparental generations has little knowledge of pidgin and puts forth no concerted effort to learn it. Instruction of

speech during German times, together with the wives and children of work boys who have acquired the language and pupils of the mission schools, would certainly account for another 15,000.

⁴⁰ I observed that in two contiguous areas in the Sepik District there was a marked difference in the amount of pidgin spoken by women. Each of the peoples in these two areas had had virtually the same contacts (missions, recruiters, traders) with Europeans. In the Middle Sepik area (Iatmul) women are closely guarded, as a rule, and have no sexual freedom after marriage. In the neighboring "Grass Country," however, where women have been prostituted by their husbands for generations, there is little evidence of sexual jealousies or restrictions, and the women are notoriously forward. It is in this latter region that the women are superior pidgin-speakers. The Iatmul *meri* may know the language, but they are allowed few opportunities to use it.

⁴¹ Professor Linton has served the science of man well by calling attention to this overlooked phase of the process of cultural transmission. (See *The Study of Man*, pp. 277-278.) In modern New Guinea it is of paramount importance in the revolutionary effects of contact and change. The village patriarchs—even many adult men still in their prime—have had no experience in labor lines and can pass on little or nothing of this new life. That is left to younger men who have served periods of contract under Europeans.

the youths in the new modes of behavior is thus left to those only slightly older than themselves.

The desire to emulate "finish-time" boys, who have travelled so far and seen so much, is a motivating factor impelling youngsters to pick up a knowledge of pidgin. Groups of small boys among the Kwoma were frequently heard repeating pidgin words and phrases, or singing them as nonsense words to native rhythms. This closely resembles similar child's play in our own culture, and achieves quite the same result. In this manner are learned the proper speech sounds and pronunciation; meanings can be acquired later. Of the Manus, it has been said,⁴² "It is a common spectacle to see two or three twelve-year old boys gathered about a three- or four-year-old little boy 'schooling him in pidgin' . . . As the baby practiced its first Manus words with endless glee over the hundred-fold repetition of one syllable, so the six-year-old goes about repeating long passages of pidgin with perfect pronunciation and cadence, but without understanding more than a tenth of what he is saying."

Young girls also may participate in this type of play up to the time the society specifies that the sexes be segregated. Whether the girls use the language or not, it becomes a part of their fund of knowledge.

Our observations among the youthful Kwoma are substantially the same as those of Dr. Mead among the Manus. We found that youngsters not only counted and sang in pidgin but also used it in the new game of football—especially in angry altercations. Their own language was not lacking in terms of abuse, but those in pidgin were preferred. It was not ascertained that natives believe some of the white man's power to reside in these words; but it is not unlikely that they do. Similar results demand similar formulas.

The fact that pidgin, by and large, is the language of the male youth of the Territory widens the natural division between the generations. Elders, in individual cases, may try to bridge this gap, but such is not the rule. The two government-appointed headmen in the Waskuk sub-section of the Kwoma tribe, each an elderly sib leader, show contrasting attitudes toward cultural change and the language which typifies it. Maruk, the staid leader of Sombunduar, has persevered in his strong dislike for the new life conditions. He has even gone so far as to remove his entire clan to a spot on the outskirts of Kwoma territory, farthest from the ordinary path of approach to the district. Although he could not prevent his own and adopted sons from going off to work, he knows few pidgin words and uses them but rarely. Sowinambi, on the other hand, the leader of Weyanbank sib, is a different type. He displays a type of behavior which in our culture would earn him the derogatory title of "politician." Whenever government

⁴² M. Mead, *Growing Up in New Guinea*, pp. 40-41.

patrols visit the Kwoma, he hovers near the white officer while Maruk remains aloof. Sowinambi's command of pidgin is not much better than Maruk's; but he exercises it on every possible occasion and strives to build up his vocabulary. His fellow-tribesmen remark on this behavior, saying, in pidgin, "Ēm i givim planti gris long kiap" (he is a great flatterer of the government officers).

When raw recruits are brought from remote villages into the centers of white enterprise, they seldom know more than a smattering of pidgin phrases. No time is given them to acquire the speech; they must learn as rapidly as possible on the job. The average length of time required for a *bush kanaka* to become a *savitoḱ*, i.e., one who understands and speaks pidgin, is three months.⁴³ During the period of their novitiate, including their recruitment and signing on, indentured laborers from their own or nearby villages act as interpreters. It rarely happens that recruits have no assistance whatsoever of this kind.⁴⁴ The case of the first Kwoma youths to be recruited is an example: they were assisted by Yambon boys who had preceded them to the goldfields. Although each group spoke its own dialect, there was sufficient similarity between the two tongues for common understanding. The recruiting areas on the mainland have been extended very gradually in this manner; and boys from peripheral villages have generally found *wantok*⁴⁵ or interpreters already at work in labor lines when they arrived.

Knowledge of pidgin is a key to participation in this new, Territory-wide culture of the work boy; it opens a new and exciting world of adventure to young boys in their villages who only await the day when they will be recruited. Stories of memorable events at European stations and settlements—the mammoth *šingsing*, the hangings, and the daring deeds of renowned police boys—have already given this culture a violent and glamorous folklore uniquely its own. The hearing of these tales whets the curiosity and enlivens the spirit of adventure of most youths.

Once the lads of any village are recruited, they mingle in the intimate proximity of labor compounds with other youths from all parts of the Territory. Here again pidgin acts as a socializing agency in breaking down the older patterns of tribal animosity. Friendships may arise between boys whose villages are hardly a generation removed from a state of perpetual feud. The possession of this common speech, limited though it be, can hardly be overestimated as a creative force in cultural change.

⁴³ This conclusion rests on information elicited from European employers and overseers of native labor as well as from statements of work boys themselves.

⁴⁴ The laws of the Territory which control the recruiting of native labor demand that interpreters be present when labor contracts are signed before the District Officer.

⁴⁵ Members of the same linguistic and cultural community.

As a force of socialization, however, the effects of pidgin have scarcely been felt outside the field of the native cultures. What impressions it has made on the local European culture have been negated, by and large, by the barrier of caste. Pidgin is very definitely a makeshift subsidiary to whites; few are even willing to admit its status as a language. As Reinecke⁴⁶ says, "The attitudes connected with the various grades of language spoken in the European countries and America are carried over to situations in which the marginal languages are spoken. The principles are the same in Europe and the colonies; only the details are different."

Europeans in New Guinea have adopted a few pidgin terms in ordinary speech among themselves. Most are derived, however, from the older, tradition-laden speech of Beach-la-mar: *kai kai*, *kanaka*, and *maski*. Individual whites use more or less pidgin in colloquial parlance, but usually for its comic effect only. In general, the speech is regarded with an amused tolerance, and is used only under the stress of necessity for directing natives in their tasks.

One statement made by Reinecke in his otherwise very able analysis now stands in need of correction, illustrating an increasing sophistication on the part of speakers of pidgin not mentioned by earlier writers. He says,⁴⁷ "As yet Melanesians have not become aware that they are speaking a sub-standard dialect (which is scorned by the whites) . . ." We now find, however, that the terms *tok pijin* and *tok boi* are part of the speech and stand in contrast to *tok ples bilong waitman* and *tok ples bilong Sydney* which designate true English. This distinction implies the general acceptance by natives of pidgin's subordinate position. More direct confirmation was given by a Kwoma informant who, laughing at his own naiveté, told how he had believed pidgin to be the white man's speech "true" before he had been recruited. But even before he had learned pidgin for himself, he had been disabused of the notion that the white *masta* had no other speech of their own.

Natives are now aware, therefore, that the ability to speak pidgin does not put them on a footing of linguistic equality with Europeans; but, as yet, little open resentment of this fact has appeared. A case concerning a house-boy who had formerly seen seven years' duty in the native constabulary deserves mention, however, as indicative of some slight change from such passivity. This boy, while serving his master's dinner one evening, repeatedly forgot to close the door of the screened dining-porch. After the fourth offense, the room then being filled with mosquitoes, the

⁴⁶ J. E. Reinecke, *Marginal Languages*, p. 91.

⁴⁷ J. E. Reinecke, *Marginal Languages*, p. 100.

master spoke sharply to the boy, calling him "a lazy bastard." This term is such a commonplace in addressing natives that the white man was at a complete loss to know why the boy immediately stamped wrathfully out of the house. When ordered back to explain his behavior, the boy said, in effect, that he knew perfectly well what the term meant in white man's talk and that he would not be called by it.

Cases where emotional affect is stirred into overt expression by linguistic usages are still exceptional. The majority of natives bear in silence the oaths and curses flung so lightly in their direction by Europeans. In this department of pidgin—a not inconsiderable department, it must be said—demeanor and gesture are of great significance. Most natives will submit to any amount of what we would regard as abusive language so long as they feel that it is not given in dead earnest. They use the same vituperative and scatologic terms of address among themselves, after the manner of youths in our own society who, while close friends, yet seem to relish the casting of most disparaging remarks relative to one another's ancestry, character, or physical characteristics.

When abuse is given seriously, however, natives seldom mistake such aggression for the patterned "joking-relationship." Feelings of contrition or remorse are verbalized in pidgin by the word *shem* (shame). A native who has been berated for his failings expresses his wounded vanity by the phrase *mi gat shem*. Names, when offered in earnest, can punish the native quite as effectively as canes and fists in a very tender spot: his pride.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ The late H. D. Eve, a surveyor whose work carried him into many villages of the Sepik District where no pidgin or other known language was spoken, worked out a method for discovering local place- and tribal-names which also proved useful as a means of punishing laggards or unruly boys in his line of indentured native carriers.

Upon arrival in a strange, but friendly, village, and surrounded by a crowd of curious natives, he would choose a few boys from among his carriers and line them in the open. All of his boys had had explicit instructions to respond in turn to whatever name they were called by stepping forward, tapping their chests, and repeating the name spoken by Eve. When the procedure had been followed out once or twice with a half dozen boys, the local natives, having grasped its purpose, would be chanting the names in unison as each individual carrier was indicated. Then Eve would turn with a questioning look and point to one of the more important-looking villagers in the crowd. If the acted lesson had been understood, as it usually was, the native would respond by giving his own name. From then on it was an easy matter to determine other personal names as well as the names of outstanding physical features, neighboring tribes and villages, and the like.

To combine punishment of a laggard with this practical procedure of name discovery, Eve would include the boy meriting correction in the list of boys called up to act out the play of name-learning. The other boys would be called first so that when it was the culprit's turn to stand forth the assembled *bush kanaka* would be chanting the names

Bush kanaka, or *manabush*, the pidgin terms for natives who have had little or no contact with Europeans and thus are ignorant of kanaka culture, are common terms of reproach. The connotations of unsophistication and lack of cleanliness which they carry among speakers of pidgin make them weapons with which to wound an individual's pride. In an observed case one house boy called another a "bladi bush kanaka"—precipitating a lively fist-fight—because the latter failed to wash before entering the master's kitchen from the playing field. Such cases show how pidgin words may be laden with associations or effects which are intimately connected with the native's emotional states.

Europeans have consciously attempted to inculcate in the natives—free villagers as well as indentured workers—special forms of etiquette and address which show deference to themselves. And here they have been not without some small measure of success. In the matter of speech, for instance, most whites insist on natives' using such forms of address as "Yes, sir," or "Yes, Master." The few who do not insist on such verbal trappings of supremacy offer no alternatives; so it is safe to assume that this pattern will prevail. It is doubtful, indeed, whether many natives as yet recognize such formalities as being a mark of caste distinction, for one frequently hears the terms used among the natives themselves. What they have learned is that failure to use these forms with whites will bring at least a reprimand if not a cuff on the head.⁴⁹

It has been noted⁵⁰ that Melanesian languages are not at all rich in words of courtesy or "polite address." Neither, we may suspect, was the English of overseas plantations and early white settlements in New Guinea. Hence we are not surprised by the absence of polished phrasings of tender senti-

as they were called. Then Eve would point to the laggard and, instead of giving his correct name, would say in a perfectly level voice: "pekpek man" (i.e., faeces man). The victim, forced to step forward and acknowledge that he was such, was faced by the crowd of pointing bush natives who chanted, "pekpek man, pekpek man." The slacker's co-workers would howl with glee at his mortification, even though they were aware that the multitude did not know the meaning of the term. Eve reported that wounding a native's vanity in this manner was much more effective than physical chastisement, and never needed to be repeated for the same individual.

⁴⁹ In this connection it may be mentioned that the *kanaka* as a rule accepts cultural differences among his own kind as well as between himself and Europeans with very little concern. Strange folkways may amuse or disgust him according to his lights, but they rarely excite him. Only among missionized natives do we find individuals who are ever ready to pass moral judgments on customs not their own. The ordinary *kanaka* phrases cultural differences in the oft-heard pidgin expression: *fasion bilong miŋela olsem—fasion bilong waitman nadakind* (these are our ways; white men's customs are different), and lets the case rest.

⁵⁰ M. Mead, *Growing Up in New Guinea*, p. 149.

ments in Melanesian pidgin.⁵¹ Greetings and leave-takings, for instance, are expressed in simple statements of fact.

(*Kanakā* A rises to leave)

Kanakā B: "Yu go, eh?"

Kanakā A: "Yes, mi go nau."

Kanakā B: "Olrait, yu kan i go."

⁵¹ A form which is making rapid headway, mainly through its use by house boys and those most closely associated with Europeans, is the phrase *tan̄k yu, masta* (thank you, sir). The oft-noted lack of gratitude of New Guinea natives, which has impressed some Europeans as being virtually an ethnic trait, may have undergone no change; but some among the native workers are discovering that to give lip service to the white virtue of gratitude pays dividends.

APPENDIX II

PORT BRETON: A TRAGIC CHAPTER IN TROPICAL COLONIZATION

The short period of white occupation of New Guinea prior to German occupation saw but one attempt—and that abortive—at organized European colonization. Although this venture had no discernible effects of a permanent sort on the contemporary native societies, its tragic history undoubtedly acted as a deterrent to other colonial schemes—regardless of their honesty—and very probably served as a check to further European immigration into the region. By indirection, then, this undertaking inhibited more rapid development of this far corner of the western Pacific.

The difficulties in effecting organized settlement in a totally strange environment by people who were absolutely unfitted for work of this sort have seldom received more pointed illustration than in the Colony of Port Breton,¹ a colony which never actually came into being. This was certainly the most cruel of all South Sea bubbles.

¹ The history of Port Breton is mentioned *passim* by many writers on early New Guinea and also by French writers who were concerned with the fate of the colonists. Alphonse Daudet's *Port-Tarascon*, for instance, was an exposé in fiction based on the facts of this venture.

The most comprehensive account, however, is A. Baudouin's *L'aventure de Port-Breton et la colonie libre dite Nouvelle-France*. Baudouin was doctor to the fourth and last expedition and was on hand to see the final complete collapse of this chimerical scheme. He strove constantly to safeguard first the interests of the colonists and ultimately their very lives. The present account is taken principally from Baudouin's work.

J. H. Niau's *The Phantom Paradise*, the only major source in English for this history, is in large part based upon the first-hand material gathered by Baudouin. Miss Niau adds some new material relating to the antecedents and early life of the organizer of the colony, and also some information concerning the latter's eventual trial and death. Her father was an investor in one of the colony's fraudulent developmental associations, and, like some of the other survivors, later sought to recoup his fortunes in Australia.

One man alone, Charles Bonaventure du Breul, Marquis de Rays,² must bear the burden of guilt for the financial failures, misery, and death which attended this huge fraud. This bogus French noble, born in Brittany in 1832, had spent adventurous years in the American West, Indo-China, Senegal, and Madagascar without achieving what he apparently most desired: fame and material success.³ In middle age he still cherished the dream of easily acquiring those desiderata in some distant land. The wave of imperialism which was then planting European flags and factories on undeveloped frontiers fired his imagination with dreams of colonial enterprises to bring him power and wealth. The unsettled condition of his homeland, aftermath of the Franco-Prussian War, made the time propitious for launching such a venture. Seizing the opportunity, de Rays concocted a colonial scheme, the audacity of which served as a thick cloak to its falsity.

De Rays was in need of three essentials for his private empire: (1) a concession of land; (2) colonists; and (3) capital. His readings in the voyages of European explorers had showed him that vast islands and extensive archipelagos existed in the South Seas which were still unclaimed by any great power. Especially was he impressed by Duperry's glowing description of Port Praslin, as a harbor on the southern tip of New Ireland had been called. Without further ado de Rays renamed this spot "Port Breton" and made it capital of a paper empire, "La Nouvelle-France." The "empire" thus created extended from the equator on the north to the 12th degree south latitude; on east and west its boundaries were the 165th meridian and Dutch New Guinea respectively. In other words, the land concession which the Marquis bestowed upon himself in the privacy of his own study included the eastern half of New Guinea and its off-lying islands, the Bismarck Archipelago, and all of the Solomon Islands.⁴ The rights of other nations or of the natives to these lands by virtue of discovery or prior occupation were not considered. The suitability of Port Breton for white settlement was likewise taken for granted.

The manner in which the question of a land concession was solved foreshadowed the solution of his other problems. He thought that colonists whom the plan attracted would supply the capital; if he could get one, the others would follow, just so long as appeals were made in the proper

² The title is spurious, according to good authority (see A. Wichmann, *Entdeckungsgeschichte von Neu Guinea*, Vol. II, Part I, p. 272).

³ J. H. Niau, *The Phantom Paradise*, pp. 3-4.

⁴ A. Baudouin, *L'aventure de Port-Breton et la colonie libre dite Nouvelle-France*, p. 4. Western Australia had appealed to de Rays at first as the locale for his empire, but a lawyer friend warned him that "possibly England might object to a foreigner alienating a portion of Australia" (See J. H. Niau, *The Phantom Paradise*, p. 4).

manner. How well he reckoned will appear presently. In these preparations, and in all of his later dealings with the colonists whom his plans enticed, the Marquis showed a complete lack of good faith. In brief, New France was simply a financial swindle in the grand manner. The Marquis' genius as a promoter was equalled only by his utter disregard for the suffering his scheme entailed.

The July 26, 1872 edition of *Le Petit Journal* carried the following announcement: "*Colonie libre de Port Breton. Terres a cinq francs l'hectare. Fortune rapide et assurée sans quitter son pays.*" The announcement concluded by stating that all communications were to be addressed directly to the Marquis.⁵ This was the beginning of an undertaking which grew on paper until, by wishful thinking, it became almost a reality. The divers means by which the Marquis enlisted support for this fictitious project offer valuable materials for an extensive study of propaganda, but may only be briefly mentioned here. No stone was left unturned to create an illusion of the enterprise's reality. Beautifully engraved land titles (on the finest bond) showing the busy commerce of a thriving port were issued. A bi-monthly journal, *La Nouvelle-France*, appeared at Marseilles containing gravures, maps of towns and plantations, and ecstatic descriptions of the country by alleged pioneers. Papers and articles were published which spoke of New France as if it were a prosperous, functioning colony. A crowning piece of deception was an octavo volume of 350 pages, written by a Belgian henchman of the Marquis, which painted a glowing but entirely imaginative picture of Port Breton.⁶

These types of propaganda made their greatest appeal among the masses of the people. Men with families, who had saved modest sums, thought they saw in these plans a means of ensuring a more pleasant and secure old age, and for their children a better start in life. In order to gain the support of the pious as well, the Marquis secured missionaries whose task would be to convert the heathen natives to Christianity. Since the priests enrolled were to be granted the right to perform religious duties ordinarily reserved to bishops, it appeared that New France had the blessing of Rome.

The agile mind of the Marquis continued to concoct out of whole cloth new schemes and organizations which would strengthen the belief in the colony's existence, and thus bring in more subscriptions. He announced, for instance, that an aristocracy was to be established comprising three ranks. "Reason and history," said the Marquis, "demonstrate that a society needs

⁵ A. Baudouin, *L'aventure de Port Breton et la colonie libre dite Nouvelle-France*, p. 13.

⁶ Dr. de Groote, the author, was promptly designated New France's Consul General for Belgium by the Marquis.

an aristocracy founded on merit, but always open to talent and legitimate success. Such an aristocracy is necessarily based on the land." Since New France was an incipient state, membership in its aristocracy would depend on the amount of land purchased.⁷

So thoroughly was the deception carried out that by 1879 over 3,000 subscribers had invested a total of several hundred thousand francs. The colony had officials, bonds, a journal, maps, and script. Joint-stock companies had been organized to develop plantations, to set up sugar refineries, and to exploit the alleged mineral wealth of the country. It was also announced that by making an additional subscription investors could remain in France and receive dividends. The actual work was to be carried on by indentured Malay and Chinese labor. The colony had, in fact, all the appurtenances of a thriving state; all that was lacking was its existence.

During all of these operations the Marquis remained in Europe, and, communications being what they were at that time, no one fresh from New Ireland could disprove his lies. We are not told how the Marquis figured to prolong his fraudulent operations in case of their exposure. It is apparent, however, that he would not go out to his empire unless by some stroke of fortune it should prove a success. In 1879, goaded to action by the demands of his stockholders, he issued a call for colonists who would be transported for a certain sum to their future home to aid in the work of settlement. If volunteers who could not afford the passage money came forward, they would be transported at a nominal price. It was promised that after serving the "government" for five years they would receive lands and a four-room house of brick or stone, as well as wages. With this announcement the Marquis ceased to be simply a swindler and became a trafficker in human lives.

Between 1879 and 1882, four vessels were sent in succession to populate this miasmal eldorado of Port Breton. Of the one thousand-odd French, Belgian, Spanish, and Italian colonists who emigrated, less than seventy are said to have ever again seen their native lands.⁸

Malicious forethought could not have chosen a more ill-favored spot for white settlement than Port Breton. Even the natives of southern New Ireland shunned it; it had never supported a large population. Since it had hardly a strip of arable soil between the rocky shore and the thickly forested mountains, they described it as a "*ples i no gat kaikai*." Cultivation of the land was further impeded by the torrential rains of the wet season, for this

⁷ A. Baudouin, *L'aventure de Port Breton et la colonie libre dite Nouvelle-France*, pp. 54-55.

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 8.

is one of the wettest spots in New Guinea. All in all the climate was dangerously unhealthy.⁹ Duperry's account, it was later learned, had been written after a brief visit under exceptionally fine conditions.

When the first shipload of colonists reached Port Breton in January, 1880, they found no trace of the flourishing colony which they had believed to exist. The majority refused to disembark, and the few who did soon regretted their action. The latter had only the crudest of thatch shelters, their crops would not grow, and hope expired. Furthermore, the leaders who had gone on with the ship to Sydney decided to remain in Australia. Forty-one miserable survivors of Port Breton eventually found their way to the Wesleyan Mission in the Duke of York Group. Before leaving the islands, nine of this group had died from their previous privations.

The second vessel, the *Génil*, carried officials and Malay police only. Included in its complement was Captain Rabardy, the Governor-designate of New France. He sent the Marquis a despatch complaining of the desertion by the first colonists and then settled down on the vessel to wait for more colonists to arrive. When the *India*, the third transport, appeared with over 300 would-be colonists aboard, all but two members of the first expedition were gone. Of these two one shortly died and the other went mad.

The appalling inadequacy of the provisions brought out by the expedition vessels made the problem of food especially urgent. Nothing would grow, and there were no native gardens in the vicinity which would meet the colonists' needs. Consequently, when the *India* appeared, it was decided that the *Génil* should proceed to Sydney for stores. It was five months instead of the agreed two before the latter vessel returned. The *India* had left, in the meantime, with all hands.

The fourth and last shipload of colonists heard distressing rumors en route as to the actual conditions at Port Breton. But such was their will to believe that they would not abandon their hope. The sight of Port Breton confirmed the rumors; instead of a prosperous town and busy harbor nothing was seen but the *Génil* lying at anchor and two small wooden buildings on the low swampy shore. Captain Rabardy and his crew were the only remnants of the colony. His greeting proved a final blow of disillusionment: "Unfortunate beings! What brings you here?"

A half-hearted attempt to found a colony was made by members of the fourth expedition, but the unsuitability of the place, the lack of food, and Rabardy's insane mismanagement defeated every effort. Rabardy not only failed to organize the group and to direct a program of development, but also held the colonists as prisoners and would allow no other vessels to

⁹ A. Baudouin, *L'aventure de Port Breton et la colonie libre dite Nouvelle-France*, pp. 267-268.

enter the harbor. Although Dr. Baudouin did what was in his power to alleviate the increasing distress of the colonists, no natural leader came forward to direct activities which would place the colony on its feet. One man who might have done the task, Captain Henry of the fourth transport, had to return to Manila for food. There he was detained for months because of de Rays' failure to advance funds or credit. His mission succeeded only at the expense of his being declared a pirate by the Spanish authorities. He was arrested at Port Breton shortly after his return by Spanish warships sent out in his search.

It is questionable whether the colonists of these expeditions were of a type built to stand the rigors of a frontier life. Of the 180 members of the fourth expedition one-third were what Dr. Baudouin called "inutiles," i.e., elderly men and women and children.¹⁰ None had had experience in the tropics or in the types of agriculture peculiar to that climate. Possibly a colony might have succeeded in a more favorable part of New Guinea. But in the debilitating airs of Port Breton sickness and the psychopathic whims of Captain Rabardy stifled whatever sparks of initiative remained in the wasted bodies of the colonists.

Thus on the 14th of September, 1881, two years to the day after the first expedition had sailed from Europe, the members of the last expedition decided in assembly to seek the first means of transport away from the islands. Another six months passed before negotiations with the local planter, Farrell, were completed and arrangements made to carry those who were left to Australia.

There are few reminders in New Guinea today of the de Rays expeditions. Several marked graves at Mioko, a little rusted machinery at Port Breton, and a huge grindstone on the beach are the only visible remains of these fruitless attempts to found a new empire. In the early 1880's a few men, refugees of the third and fourth expeditions, found employment with white planters and traders in the islands, but by the turn of the century only three of the thousand individuals who had come remained in the archipelago. Of this number, two were employed by firms and the third, who had come as a boy with his father, was on his way toward becoming a prosperous planter.¹¹

De Rays' proposal to Christianize the natives had achieved its purpose in enlisting support, but only two missionaries were ever sent. They were attached to the third and fourth expeditions respectively. Finding no native groups in the vicinity among which they could work, and lacking

¹⁰ A. Baudouin, *L'aventure de Port Breton et la colonie libre dite Nouvelle-France*, p. 89.

¹¹ H. Schnce, *Bilder aus der Südsee*, p. 62.

assistants, these individuals accomplished no such results as were seen in villages under the dominance of the Wesleyan Mission. Their criticisms of the Marquis' fraud served, however, to call the attention of the Catholic church to this open field for missionary enterprise. The indirect result of their work was the creation of the Catholic Mission of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, in 1882, on the Gazelle Peninsula.¹²

If the colonists had planned to engage the native population under indenture, they would not have remained on the sparsely inhabited southern tip of New Ireland. As it was, they had little effect on native culture. A small islet off Port Breton was the home of a little community of natives headed by a refugee named Maragano. Maragano, called "king" by Captain Rabardy, disputed the honor of being the white man's friend with other headmen in the scattered villages some distance away. By exacting a high toll from all other natives who were desirous of trading with the colonists, Maragano effectively checked competition and contact with a larger circle of natives. It was the same Maragano who sold to Captain Rabardy (for a few axes and trinkets) the entire southern half of New Ireland.¹³

The Captain's force of arms made a decided impression on the natives, but to augment his power he bought eleven war captives from a Buka village whom he fashioned into a slave bodyguard on board the *Génil* (and this despite the fact that the Marquis' ships were flying the Liberian flag by courtesy!). The colonists, who had no such force of armed men at their disposal, had to run the risk of attack by bush people if they ventured far from Port Breton. How many met their fate by native spears and clubs is not known. Of one large party which crossed the island to seek the mission's aid only three arrived. Six others, in trying to reach Port Hunter by native canoe, were blown south to the shores of Bougainville. Five were killed and eaten. The sixth, who was allowed to live, later was purchased from his captors by a white trader for two axes.

Captain Rabardy and his force played an active role in the retaliation for the murder of Kleinschmidt and his two assistants. This punitive expedition, known thereafter as the "Massacre of Mioko," was carried out in the *Génil*. Coastal villages were shelled and the fleeing occupants of canoes were shot down in large numbers.

¹² H. Schneec, *Bilder aus der Südsee*, p. 63.

¹³ This sale, be it noted, was exclusive of the headman's own islet. As Baudouin says, the native would have sold the entire Bismarck Archipelago for only a little more pay.

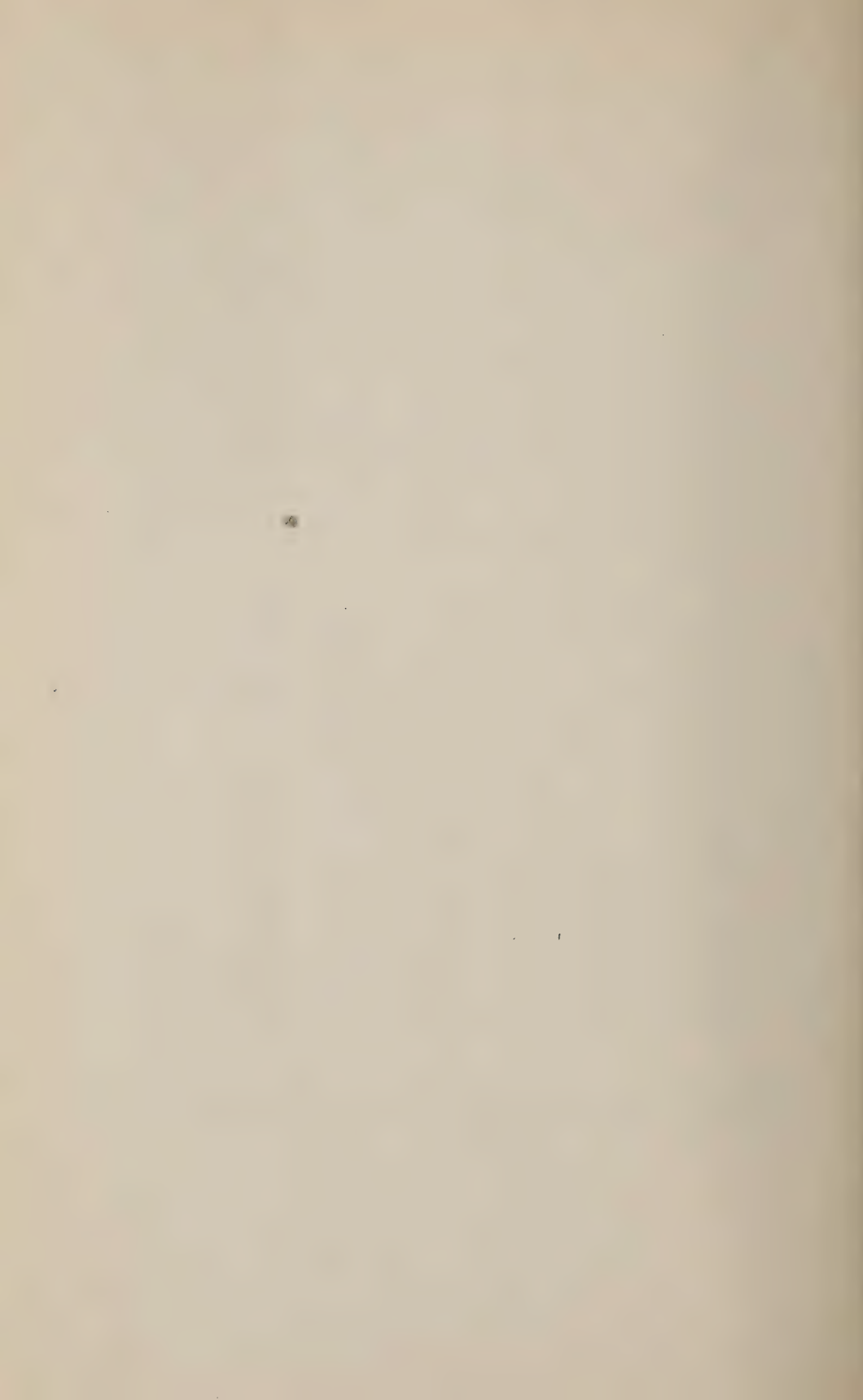
APPENDIX III

POPULATION FIGURES: 1921-1938 MANDATED TERRITORY OF NEW GUINEA¹

	<i>European</i>		<i>Non-indigenous Asiatic</i>		<i>Total</i>	<i>Native</i>		
	<i>Brit- ish</i>	<i>Ger- man</i>	<i>Chi- nese</i>	<i>"Dutch"*</i>		<i>Inden- tured</i>	<i>Total Enumer- ated</i>	
1921	715	579	1402	215	3173	27,728	187,517	1921
1922	765	325	1365	215	2927	26,619	190,256	1922
1923	828	312	1347	221	2979	24,701	197,258	1923
1924	824	316	1330	213	2944	25,164	230,512	1924
1925	944	310	1303	210	3045	23,421	257,551	1925
1926	1086	299	1279	215	3132	23,569	292,768	1926
1927	1341	293	1254	220	3399	27,002	304,069	1927
1928	1659	332	1259	224	3751	28,253	323,284	1928
1929	1808	328	1253	213	3928	30,043	339,841	1929
1930	1992	348	1238	209	4155	30,130	370,005	1930
1931	1992	370	1179	213	4142	27,765	392,816	1931
1932	2104	402	1215	211	4366	26,606	389,931	1932
1933	2842	379	1399	251	5215	28,242	401,129	1933
1934	3026	404	1424	249	5453	30,595	456,924	1934
1935	3288	442	1448	155	5688	33,993	478,686	1935
1936	3332	477	1523	153	5882	36,927	500,040	1936
1937	3329	469	1525	155	5897	40,259	542,259	1937
1938	3472	473	1737	154	6283	41,849	581,342	1938

* Malays.

¹ Compiled from the annual *Report to the Council of the League of Nations on the Administration of the Territory of New Guinea*, (1923-1939).



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NOTE: The *Official Handbook of the Territory of New Guinea* (see New Guinea, below) contains the only extensive list of publications dealing wholly or in part with the Mandated Territory that has yet appeared. The following bibliography includes several titles not cited in the *Handbook* as well as works dealing with both practical and theoretical problems of culture contact and change in other parts of the world; it lacks other titles from that source, however, either because they dealt with problems not sufficiently pertinent to the topic of this book or because they were not available. It registers only those items which have been directly consulted, whether or not they have been quoted.

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